

An Introduction to Anthropology

Ethnology

Fifth Edition



Victor Barnouw



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Volume Two



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This book is
dedicated to my wife
SACHIKO



Preface

Anthropology today has to do with human beings at all times and places; it is not limited to the study of early people and “primitive” non-Western cultures, as it was sometimes held to be.

The present fifth edition of this text contains a new chapter, Chapter 3, “Field Research Methods.” Chapter 16, “Applied Anthropology,” has been greatly expanded to give students more information about the uses of anthropology today.

To make for a greater awareness of the significance of cultural differences in human life, the different parts of the book contain sections called “Windows on Three Cultures” which give information about three contrasting cultures: those of the Inuit, the Hopi, and present-day Japan. At the end of the book there is an identifying list of peoples and tribes referred to in the text and a glossary of key concepts.

Those of you who are familiar with this book will find that the chapters dealing with psychological anthropology and anthropological theory have been shifted to earlier sections of the text. The Central Eskimos discussed in the seven “Windows on Three Cultures” sections are now referred to as Inuit, since that is what they prefer to call themselves.

I would like to thank the following persons who commented on the fourth edition of this volume; their suggestions were very helpful to me in preparing the present edition: Donna Kerner of City College, City University of New York; K. Peter Lade of Salisbury State College; John S. Matthiasson of the University of Manitoba; Charles B. Vedder of Stetson University; and Robert H. Winthrop of Southern Oregon State College.

Victor Barnouw



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Part One

Introduction





An Introduction

Anthropology is the study of human beings (from Greek *anthropos*, man, and *logia*, study). It is concerned mainly with a single species, *Homo sapiens* (the zoological term for our species), rather than with many diverse organisms, as in the cases of botany and zoology, although physical anthropologists also study the various primate species related to humans. Our objective is to learn all we can about our species—how we have become what we are, what we have accomplished, and what our potentialities may be.

Of course, anthropology is not the only field that focuses on human beings. There are many others, including sociology, psychology, history, law, economics, and political science. We do not need to draw clear-cut boundary lines between these various disciplines. There are many areas of overlap among them, each field having its distinctive characteristics and emphases.

Anthropology may be broadly divided into physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. Physical anthropology studies *Homo sapiens* as a physical organism, while cultural anthropology is concerned with human cultures or ways of life, in both the present and the past. Cultural anthropology may be subdivided into three main branches: linguistics, ethnology, and archaeology. Before discussing these subdivisions, let us first consider the concept of culture.

Culture

Culture refers to learned behavior, acquired by experience, as opposed to inborn, genetically determined behavior. This use of the term must be distinguished from older, colloquial meanings expressed in phrases like "a man of culture." In the anthropological sense, all human beings have culture.

Although anthropologists sometimes use the word *culture* in a broad generic sense, they also speak about *a* culture, such as Eskimo culture or Hopi culture. Here is a definition of culture in this sense. *A culture is the way of life of a group of people, the complex of shared concepts and patterns of learned behavior that are handed down from one generation to the next through the means of language and imitation.* A person is destined to learn the patterns of behavior prevalent in the society in which he grows up. He does not necessarily learn them all, for there may be cultural differences appropriate to persons of different age, sex, status, and occupation. Moreover, the culture patterns of a society may change with the appearance of new inventions or through contact with other ways of life. While the definition given above emphasizes the sharing of concepts and patterns of behavior, it should not be assumed that the people who share a common culture necessarily live in a state of harmony; in all societies there are apt to be conflicts between individuals or groups, even though they may speak the same language, wear the same sort of clothing, and share many other common traits. Despite difficulties in defining it, the term *culture* has been very useful in anthropological literature. We cannot understand human behavior very well without the concept of *culture*, which will be the main subject of this volume.

The use of the term in this anthropological sense is relatively recent. In 1871 Edward B. Tylor, an English writer, published a two-volume work, *Primitive Culture*, in which he defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1877:I, 1). A weakness in this definition is that it omits the element of integration, although that is hinted at in the phrase "complex whole." Tylor's definition and the title of his book established culture as a separate field for investigation that could be studied apart from psychology or biology, since cultural phenomena were believed to have their own laws.

Another definition of culture, given many years later by Ralph Linton, stressed the factor of integration: "A culture is the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (Linton 1945:32). Some anthropologists object to the inclusion

of “results of behavior”—which refers to material culture—in this definition. Should we include artifacts, tools, buildings, and boats in our definition?

For Ward H. Goodenough, culture is essentially a set of ideas, including ideas about objects; it does not include the objects themselves. Goodenough (1957:167–68) writes: “A society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. . . . It is the theory, not the phenomena alone, which ethnographic description aims to present.” Culture in this sense can be distinguished from actual behavior; culture consists of the rules that determine behavior rather than the behavior itself. Anthropologists, then, have different ways of defining and conceiving of culture, but, in general, there is agreement that culture consists of learned patterns of behavior common to members of a given society. A *society* is a more or less organized group of people of both sexes who share a common culture. Society and culture are not interchangeable terms, for society refers to a group of people, while culture refers to their way of life or the sets of learned ideas they share.

The utility of the term *culture* can be seen if we compare ourselves with chimpanzees. Chimpanzees are very similar to human beings physiologically, having the same general physical structure, similar blood types, and susceptibility to some of the same diseases. We are classed together with chimpanzees in the Primate superfamily of Hominoidea. There are also some similarities in behavior between chimpanzees and human beings, for chimpanzees live in social groups, can learn through imitation, and sometimes even use tools in a rudimentary way, poking a stick into a termite’s nest and licking the stick to eat the termites that adhere to it. But there is a tremendous difference between the chimpanzee’s way of life and that of human beings. Even the simplest hunting-gathering culture has a much more complex repertoire of behavior than that of chimpanzees. Every human group has a language, which is learned by the young as they grow up, and this language contains a storehouse of traditions and instructions for coping with the world. The young do not have to start from scratch or depend upon instincts alone to survive. They incorporate the culture of the group into which they were born. Culture, moreover, is cumulative. When new techniques or solutions to problems are discovered, they are apt to be maintained and passed on to the next generation. Hence, there has been an evolution of culture from paleolithic times to the space age. To understand human behavior, then, it is not enough to have knowledge of human biology—so similar to chimpanzee biology. We need to know about the human capacity for symbolic communication and the cultural traditions that humans

acquire, which channel and direct so much of their activity. Let us now consider the subdivisions of anthropology.

Linguistics

We have noted that language is a principal means by which culture is transmitted. Because of its importance for all of human life, we need to understand what language is and how it works. One of the subdivisions of anthropology, the field of linguistics, involves the study of languages.

Although other animals besides humans have communication systems, and although the cries of apes and monkeys seem to have communicative functions, no other organism is known to have as elaborate a system of symbolic communication as *Homo sapiens*. The transmission of culture from generation to generation is made possible by language, which enables us to preserve the traditions of the past and to make provisions for the future.

Not all linguists are anthropologists, but some anthropologists specialize in the study of languages. Traditionally, anthropological linguists have emphasized the study of unwritten languages. Ethnologists—anthropologists who study contemporary cultures—often learn the language of the people whom they are studying in the field. It is possible to do ethnological fieldwork with bilingual interpreters, but it is much better if the anthropologist understands the local speech. All kinds of subtleties may be lost in translation, for example, in a discussion of religious concepts.

Descriptive, or structural, linguistics deals with the characteristic sound units employed in a language and with its grammatical system.

Historical linguistics deals with changes in language over time, including sound shifts and the influence of one language on another. Sometimes efforts have been made to reconstruct culture patterns of past times from a study of items of vocabulary, as has been done in the case of the Indo-European languages of the Old World.

Cognitive anthropology is a branch of ethnology but may also be seen as a branch of anthropological linguistics. It is concerned with the ways in which the speakers of a particular language classify and conceptualize phenomena. Some anthropologists have tried to assess the ways in which the language of a particular society structures the perceptions or worldview of its speakers.

Linguistics, then, has a bearing on many other fields of research, not only on ethnology but also on fields outside anthropology, such as psychology and philosophy.

Ethnology

Ethnology is the study of contemporary cultures. Ethnologists go to a particular society, let us say an Eskimo group; they get to know the people, learn something of their language, and keep a record of observations and interviews. Ethnologists have varied interests and objectives, but all of them try to delineate some of the characteristic culture patterns of the groups they study. Ethnologists may be particularly interested in how kinship is reckoned in the Eskimo community, what religious beliefs the people have, or how the religion is related to other aspects of the culture. They may study techniques of food getting or seal hunting, the material equipment used in the process, and the methods of making dogsleds, harpoons, and warm clothing. They may be interested in how children are brought up and what personality traits are fostered in the society, how people get along with one another, how men and women acquire their mates, and how many they may have.

A detailed written description of a particular culture is known as an *ethnography*, or ethnographic account.

A sociocultural anthropologist usually studies a particular society, or at least one society at a time. But it should be pointed out that ethnological works are not limited to descriptions of particular cultures or to comparisons of two or three cultures. There are also efforts to generalize on a broad scale about cultures in general, for example about societies with a hunting-gathering basis of subsistence, peasant societies, matrilineal societies, and so on.

Some of the early American anthropologists tried to get as complete an inventory as possible of the culture they were studying—material culture (tools and equipment used), kinship organization, religious beliefs, marriage customs, subsistence techniques, folklore, games, food recipes, and so forth. More recently there has been a tendency to focus on particular problems and to narrow the scope of investigation. We now have some specialized subfields within the general branch of ethnology, such as social anthropology and psychological anthropology.

Social anthropology is concerned with the social structure of a society, its patterns of social interaction. This field is akin to sociology, except, perhaps, that social anthropologists generally study non-Western societies. Social anthropology is not the same thing as cultural anthropology. It may be seen as a branch of cultural anthropology, which covers a larger field. For their purposes social anthropologists ignore many aspects of culture, such as material culture, how traps and snares are made, and food recipes, and focus on such matters as

kinship organization, class stratification, and social relations in general.

Psychological anthropology is a field that overlaps with psychology, particularly the psychology of personality; it is concerned with the mutual interplay of culture and personality, but especially with the ways in which the culture of a society influences the individuals who grow up within its milieu.

Economic anthropology, political anthropology, and the cross-cultural study of religion, folklore, art, and music (ethnomusicology) are other specialized fields of study within ethnology.

Applied anthropology is a field in which ethnologists try to bring practical assistance in the solution of human problems, usually in developing Third World countries where problems of hunger and disease are pressing and where an understanding of the local culture can aid directed culture change.

Archaeology

Archaeology is the study of past cultures. Anthropological archaeologists are usually concerned with what are called *prehistoric* cultures, those that existed before the development of written records.¹ Archaeologists willingly make use of written records if they are available, as in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Guatemala, but often they have nothing to work with but the relics and remains of bygone people—potsherds, arrowheads, clay figurines, and tools of bone, stone, or other durable materials. Since systems of writing developed only about five thousand years ago, while there were ancestors of ours who were able to make tools about 2.6 million years ago, it is evident that the period of prehistory is immensely long. We depend upon the archaeologist, working with the paleontologist, geologist, physical anthropologist, and other specialists, to reconstruct what happened during these hundreds of thousands of years. In many parts of the world—Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, most of the New World, and Africa—writing was only recently introduced. Here, again, the archaeologist works to uncover the past.

Archaeologists seek to reconstruct the culture history and lifeways of people of the past. They also try to understand cultural processes insofar as these may be inferred from the archaeological remains and other evidence. Because much of human life is intangible and perish-

¹ An exception to the general focus on prehistory is *historic site archaeology*, which deals with the relatively recent past, such as the reconstruction of colonial American settlements, in which excavation work can be combined with information from written records.



Excavation at Cahokia, Illinois, a Middle Mississippian town site which was one of the most densely populated areas in the eastern United States between A.D. 900 and 1600. Careful stratigraphy, mapping, and measurement are illustrated here.

Courtesy of Melvin Fowler and Illinois State Museum

able, leaving no permanent imprint behind, the reconstruction of prehistory, past lifeways, and cultural processes will never be complete. Even so, archaeologists have been able to learn a great deal about the distribution and ways of life of the hunters of the Old Stone Age. They have also learned where some of the first horticultural settlements appeared in the Old World and the New, where metal tools were first employed, and where writing and city life first developed.

In their reconstruction of the past, archaeologists have been greatly aided by a series of dating techniques, such as carbon 14 and potassium-argon dating, that have been developed during the past 65 years. Archaeologists work closely with specialists in other fields—geologists, zoologists, botanists, and others who are able to throw light on the material excavated from a site. Through a combination of archaeology and ethnology we can determine much about the evolution and spread of human cultures.

Physical Anthropology

Physical anthropology is concerned with *Homo sapiens* as a physical organism and with our evolution from simpler forms of life.

Whatever else he may be, *Homo sapiens* is classified as an animal, a

vertebrate, a mammal, and a Primate, the order of mammals that also includes, among others, the apes and monkeys. Physical anthropologists are concerned with tracing our relationships to other primate species and with reconstructing the evolutionary branching and differentiation of the Primate order, particularly with respect to *Homo sapiens* and our closest relatives.

Physical anthropologists have pursued at least four kinds of research in this connection: (1) the analysis of primate fossils, with an attempt to place them in a geological, temporal sequence; (2) comparative anatomical study of living primates, including such features as blood chemistry and tooth-cusp patterns; (3) observation of living primates in the field; and (4) laboratory experimentation with apes, monkeys, and other animals. One focus of physical anthropology, then, is primate, including human, evolution.

A second focus is human variation. All human beings on earth today belong to a single species, *Homo sapiens*. All human groups, in other words, are capable of breeding with one another and producing fertile offspring. Within this single species, however, there is a good deal of variation with respect to such features as skin color, hair form, and blood types.

Physical anthropologists also study the incidence of ailments determined by heredity, such as sickle-cell anemia and hemophilia, and the relative susceptibility or immunity of different human populations to certain diseases. They have made studies of patterns of human growth and nutrition, climatic adaptation, and body composition. Some studies of this sort concern human physical adaptation to particular environments, such as deserts, the Arctic, or high altitude.

The Physical Nature of *Homo Sapiens*

Human physical characteristics are closely related to the nature of human culture. The fact that we have eyes on the frontal plane and can watch the manipulations of our hands using tools is an aspect of our primate heritage.

Within the grouping of eutherian, or placental, mammals, *Homo sapiens* belongs to the order of Primates, which also includes the lemurs, tarsiers, monkeys, and apes. An outstanding characteristic of the primates is their prehensile (grasping), five-digited hands and feet, generally equipped with flat or slightly curved nails. Grasping hands and feet are well suited to life in the trees, where most primates spend their time, although some, such as the baboon, gorilla, and humans, move about on the ground. Life in the trees demands good eyesight. Most of the primates, whose eyes are set close together on the frontal plane, have overlapping stereoscopic vision and color vision. Monkeys

An orangutan examining a chain. Like the other large apes, the chimpanzee and gorilla, orangutans closely resemble human beings and have relatively large brains. Note the humanlike prehensile hand, a general primate trait, which enables them to handle objects while they examine them.

© Everett G. Johnson/
Southern Light



pick up objects with their hands and examine them, and they can feed themselves with their hands. Their forelimbs and hind limbs have become differentiated, with the forelimbs used for exploration and the lower limbs for support, a differentiation most developed in human beings.

The Primate order is divided into two suborders: the Prosimii, or lower primates, including the lemurs and tarsiers, and the Anthropoidea, or higher primates, including the New World and Old World monkeys, the apes, and humans.

The superfamily within the Anthropoidea to which we belong is that of the Hominoidea. Its other members are the apes, who differ from the monkeys in lacking external tails, cheek pouches, and some other features. The apes have long arms, rather short legs, a semierect posture, and a broader, more basin-shaped pelvis than that of monkeys. The gibbon and orangutan are Southeast Asian apes; the chimpanzee and gorilla are African ones.

Unlike many lower vertebrates, most of the primates are social animals that live the year round in groups consisting of males, females, and offspring. The young are relatively helpless at birth and depend upon maternal care more than most mammals do. The period of dependency increases from the lower to the higher primates.

Terrestrial primates, such as baboons, move about in larger bands

than arboreal ones and cover a wider range. They display more differentiation of dominant-submissive behavior than arboreal species and more sexual dimorphism, showing striking differences in size and strength between males and females.

There are not only differences in social organization between primate species, but differences may also occur within a species among groups that have adjusted to different environments. This suggests that such organization is determined not only by genetic factors but also by learning, which is facilitated by the long period of infant dependence. The development and spread of new patterns of behavior have been noted in some groups of primates: for example, the practice among some groups of macaques in Japan of washing sweet potatoes before eating them. A refinement was later added to this pattern: carrying sweet potatoes to wash in the sea rather than in the nearby brook, perhaps because of the salty taste. While walking into the sea, the macaques assumed an erect posture, which they continued to carry on land more frequently than before. Here is a complex of learned patterns of behavior that is shared by a particular group of macaques but not found among macaques elsewhere. We might call this *protocultural* behavior. It differs from our learned behavior in lacking the use of language.

Primates, represented by small prosimians, appear in the fossil record about sixty million years ago; they had become abundant by about fifty-seven million years ago. In the Old World, fossil finds that consist mainly of teeth and jaw fragments, and perhaps represent ancestral types of Old World monkeys and apes, have been found in the Egyptian Fayum dating from around thirty-five million years ago. Possible ancestors of ours are represented by the tooth and jaw fragments of the hominoid genus *Ramapithecus* found in East Africa, northwestern India, and parts of Europe, dating from about fourteen million years ago.

This brings us to the characteristics of *Homo sapiens* and how we differ from other primates. The two most important differences are our upright posture and our very large brain and more complex central nervous system, in comparison with those of other primates. Several distinctive features of the human skeleton represent adaptations to upright posture and bipedalism: a curve in the lumbar region of the spine; a broad, basin-shaped pelvis; longer legs than arms; and some characteristics of the feet, including arches from front to back and from side to side, a well-developed heel, and a nonopposable big toe in line with the other toes. *Homo sapiens* also has a chin, a bony nose bridge and cartilaginous nose tip, a median groove in the upper lip, outrolled lips showing a membranous red portion, and V-shaped, or parabolic, jaws in contrast to the long, U-shaped jaws of apes.

This plaster cast reconstruction of a *Homo erectus* skull shows the low elevation and heavy brow ridges characteristic of the Java and Peking hominids who lived between 1.5 million and 100,000 years ago. Despite their relatively small brains, when compared to those of modern humans, they had a culture, used fire, and made stone tools—which suggests that they also had a language. UWM Department of Photography



Early Hominids

Between one million and five million years ago, there were apelike but upright bipedal hominids living in parts of Africa. The first fossil evidence of this was an immature juvenile skull found in South Africa in 1924 and named *Australopithecus africanus* (South African ape) by Raymond Dart. In the following decades, more such finds were made in South and East Africa, so that by now over 1,400 fossil remains have been recovered. Despite the “ape” label originally given by Dart, it is now recognized that the australopithecines, as they have been called, were not apes but hominids, having more in common with ourselves than with the apes. They lacked chins and had brains that were not much larger than those of present-day apes, although their brains were relatively large in proportion to their body size. The discovery of these remains has shown that our ancestors must have assumed upright posture before they developed large brains.

The archaeological evidence suggests that these hominids used stone tools; they probably used tools of wood, bone, and horn as well.

A later stage of hominid evolution was that of *Homo erectus*, represented by such finds as the Java and Peking skeletal remains, dated between 1.5 million and 100,000 years ago. These people were of about the same height as modern humans. Their brains were much larger than those of the australopithecines but smaller than those of modern *Homo sapiens*, although the larger skulls fall within the modern human range. They had low skulls with heavy brow ridges and large, chinless jaws with big teeth.

Homo erectus must have spread over much of the Old World, for the fossilized remains have been unearthed in Africa, China, and Indonesia. Since stone tools have often been found in the same geological levels, there is no doubt that *Homo erectus* had a culture, including the use of choppers or pebble tools and sometimes hand axes. Moreover, the use of fire was known at this time, as attested in cave sites in both Europe and China. Armed with tools and the knowledge of fire, hominids were able to move into cool northerly regions in Europe and

China, as well as occupying warmer zones in Africa, southern Asia, and Indonesia. By that time, humans must have acquired a language and there must have been some division of labor, with men specializing as hunters and women as collectors and perhaps preparers of food. Home bases, to which members of a band returned, were a feature of this stage, although they probably originated earlier in the australopithecine stage.

Between clearly defined *Homo erectus* and more advanced *Homo sapiens* fossils, there is a range of intermediate forms that are hard to classify but probably represent transitions to the *sapiens* form. From around 100,000 to 35,000 years ago, there were hominids whom we call Neanderthal living in Europe, the Near East, and parts of Asia, represented by abundant skeletal remains. "Neanderthal man" was long considered to be a species distinct from the modern one and was labeled *Homo neanderthalensis*. Now, however, the Neanderthals are classified as a subspecies, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*. From the *Homo erectus* stage, the Neanderthals inherited such traits as thick skull walls and brow ridges, low elevation of the skull, and large jaws, but they differed from *Homo erectus* in having a much larger brain, as large as that of modern humans. The skull was not high domed, however, but long and flattish, broadening out behind the ears.

The Neanderthals show evidence of religious beliefs; they buried grave goods with the dead and had a ceremonial cult centered on the skulls of bears.

People of modern physical type, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, with chins and more high-domed skulls, appeared during the Upper Paleolithic period around forty thousand years ago, and the earlier Neanderthal type then seems to have disappeared.

The four branches of anthropology are closely interrelated. Human beings possess a particular kind of body structure and biochemistry, studied by physical anthropologists; the physical and cultural evolution of our ancestors is reconstructed by physical anthropologists and archaeologists; language, the principal channel of human communication, is investigated by linguists; and the different cultures of contemporary human beings are studied by ethnologists. This volume focuses on findings in the last field.

The Historical Background of Ethnological Research

Curiosity about the effects of different cultures upon human attitudes and behavior can develop only in a society that has contacts with other societies with contrasting ways of life. It is understandable, then, that the earliest ethnographic accounts we have come from the mercantile

Greeks of classic times. Herodotus (484–425 B.C.) was a great traveler who visited Macedonia, Thrace, Babylonia, Palestine, and Egypt. Herodotus's long account of Egypt is particularly interesting. He remarked that the Egyptians did things quite differently from the Greeks. Women traded in the market, while men sat at home at the loom. Women carried burdens on their shoulders; men carried them on their heads. Sons did not have to support their parents, but daughters had to. In noting contrasts such as these, Herodotus seemed to have a rather dispassionate, relativistic point of view. The term *cultural relativism* refers to the view that a human practice or institution must be understood in the context of its culture. This is opposed to an *ethnocentric* view, which assumes that the familiar standards of one's own culture are the best or most appropriate. With an ethnocentric perspective, it is easy to criticize or condemn ways of life that are different from one's own. Herodotus was proud of being a Greek, but he was not ethnocentric, and he did not try to demonstrate the superiority of the Greeks, although that sometimes seems to be implied in his writings. Herodotus knew that the civilization of Egypt was much older than that of Greece. He had a historical interest in tracing some Greek customs back to Egypt. Most of the names of Greek gods originated in Egypt, he tells us. "The Egyptians were also the first to introduce solemn assemblies, processions, and litanies to the gods; of all which the Greeks were taught the use by them" (Blakeney 1936:143).

Archaeologists can reconstruct much of the ancient Egyptian culture from their findings, but Herodotus's account of Egypt in the fifth century B.C. contains much information that would have been lost forever if he had not recorded it. The section on Egypt, of course, is only part of Herodotus's *History*, which ranges over a wide field.

The Roman historian Tacitus (circa A.D. 55–after A.D. 117) wrote a lengthy account of the barbarians of northern Europe. His work *Germania* is well organized, beginning with a discussion of the environment and giving details of the Germans' physical appearance, house types, and customs. Unlike Herodotus, Tacitus did not visit the country he described but got his information secondhand from soldiers and other persons who had traveled in the north. In writing this book, Tacitus seems to have been partly motivated by a desire to shock the decadent Romans of his day by picturing the rude vigor and virtue of the primitive Germans. At any rate, his work is a convincing picture of how the northern tribes were living at that time.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, there was an apparent decline of curiosity in Europe, or at least of ethnographic descriptions, about other cultures. In the thirteenth century, however, Europeans had to recognize the existence of the Mongols, who pressed on their eastern borders. Two Franciscan friars were sent to the Mongol courts in Asia:

Giovanni da Pian del Carпинi between 1245 and 1247 and Willem van Rubroek in 1253-54. Along with intelligence reports, these men included some information about Mongol customs. In the latter part of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo spent seventeen years in the service of Kublai Khan and added some more to the written literature about eastern Asia. Otherwise, there was little evidence of interest in ethnological matters in Europe.

Some Islamic scholars outside Europe maintained this kind of interest, however. Ibn-Khaldun, who was born in Tunis in 1332 and died in Cairo in 1406, was the author of *The Muqaddimah*, a work highly praised by Arnold Toynbee. In *The Muqaddimah*, Ibn-Khaldun contrasted the ways of living of the nomadic Bedouins and sedentary city dwellers, discussed the effects of climate on human character, and made generalizations about the rise and fall of dynasties under headings containing such propositions as the following: "The vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive characteristics, his dress, his occupation, and all his other conditions and customs." "Bedouins can acquire royal authority only by making use of some religious coloring, such as prophethood, or sainthood, or some great religious event in general" (Ibn-Khaldun 1967).

The Age of Discovery

The discovery of the New World with its varying cultures, ranging from hunting-gathering bands to the advanced civilizations of Mexico and Peru, shook Europeans out of their provinciality and stimulated the imagination of scholars. These discoveries were accompanied by the new intellectual currents of the Renaissance that had uncovered the past glories of ancient Greece and Rome. John H. Rowe (1965:14) has remarked: "The enthusiasm of the Renaissance for Classical antiquity had the further effect of cracking the shell of ethnocentric prejudice which had traditionally isolated the men of the West." Rowe writes about Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-1526), an Italian scholar and pioneer linguist attached to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Pietro Martire was greatly interested in the voyages to the New World, and he interviewed men who returned from there, taking a special interest in ethnographic and linguistic information. Martire acquired a brief vocabulary of Taino words recorded from natives brought back to Spain by Columbus on his first voyage. This was the first European record of an American Indian language. Some Indians from Mexico whom Martire saw wore lip plugs, which he considered repulsive, but he noted dispassionately that the Indians themselves thought these were handsome: "—an example which teaches us how absurdly the human race is sunk in its own blindness, and how much we are all mistaken. The Ethiopian considers that black is a more



Early drawing of Polynesian outrigger canoe. Captain Cook visited Polynesian islands in the latter part of the eighteenth century. *Milwaukee Public Museum*

beautiful color than white, while the white man thinks otherwise. The hairless man thinks he looks better than the hairy one, and the bearded man better than the beardless" (Rowe 1965:13). This culture-consciousness and sense of cultural relativism were new outlooks for Europeans at that time.

Another scholar whose thinking was similarly stimulated by the voyages of discovery was Michel de Montaigne (1533-92), who wrote about the influence of custom on human perception of reality (1947:4-10):

I do believe, that no so absurd or ridiculous fancy can enter into human imagination, that does not meet with some example of public practice, and that, consequently, our reason does not ground and back up. . . . In one place, men feed upon human flesh; in another 'tis reputed a pious office for a man to kill his father at a certain age. . . . The laws of conscience which we pretend to be derived from nature, proceed from custom; . . . and the common fancies that we find in repute everywhere about us . . . appear to us to be the most universal and genuine.

A Franciscan chronicler of information about Mexican customs, Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), left a valuable ethnographic record, the Florentine Codex. Another early work that resulted from the Spanish conquest of Peru was an account of the Inca civilization by

Garcilaso de la Vega, a half-breed Inca whose father was a governor of Cuzco and whose mother came from the Inca ruling class. His major work, *Comentarios Reales Que Tratan del Origen de los Yncas* (Part I, 1609 and Part II, 1617), is still an important source of data about the Inca culture (de la Vega 1962).

Since the invention of printing coincided with the discoveries in the New World, it was possible for accounts like Garcilaso's to be published, and there was an eager market for them, as well as for the reports of the Jesuits and other missionaries in faraway places.

The voyages of Captain Cook in the eighteenth century brought large areas of the world, formerly unknown to Europeans, to their attention. Captain James Cook rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed to New Zealand; in 1774 he discovered the Sandwich Islands, New Caledonia, and other parts of Polynesia. He made good observations on the customs of natives of New Zealand and Australia, and collected objects of native handiwork, bark cloth, tools, weapons, and so forth.

The Enlightenment

By the latter part of the eighteenth century, information was available about non-Western cultures in many parts of the world. Sources included the writings of J. F. Lafitau about American Indians, Martin Dobrizhoffer's description of the Abipones of South America, and many others. Some European writers tried to systematize cross-cultural information about particular topics. For example, an anonymous author published in 1782 *An Accurate Description of the Marriage Ceremonies Used by Many Nations*. The account included the Jews, the natives of Hudson Bay, Mexicans, Persians, Japanese, Greeks, and Hottentots, among others.

Increasing familiarity with information of this sort made intellectuals of the eighteenth century aware of the influence of culture upon human behavior, even though they did not use the term *culture*. This culture-consciousness was already advanced in the case of Montaigne in the sixteenth century, and it is also apparent in the writings of John Locke (1632–1704), who remarked:

Had you or I been born at the Bay of Soldania, possibly our thoughts and notions had not exceeded those brutish ones of the Hottentots that inhabit there. And had the Virginia king Apochancana been educated in England, he had been perhaps as knowing a divine, and as good a mathematician as any in it; the difference between him and a more improved Englishman lying barely in this, that the exercise of his faculties was bounded within the ways, modes, and notions of his own country, and never directed to any other or further inquiries. (Quoted in Slotkin 1965:173)

Voltaire and Rousseau both made use of ethnological information in their writings. Voltaire was aware of the great age and geographical extent of the civilizations of India and China and argued that the writing of history should not be confined to Europe but should include the other civilizations of the world. Rousseau drew upon descriptions of the Carib Indians of Venezuela to illustrate his conception of man in a "state of nature," the noble savage. In his *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau wrote: "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains." He believed that humans are essentially good but have become debased by civilization.

Just the opposite view had earlier been expressed by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who argued that humans are essentially egocentric, aggressive, and out for what they can get. If we have become civilized, it is because of the restraints of a firm government. Hobbes cited some American Indian tribes as examples of people without government who live in a brutish manner. Eighteenth-century thinkers tended to support one or the other of these polar views, with liberal reformers like the Earl of Shaftesbury and his followers often attacking the Hobbesian view. Similar conflicting opinions about the nature of humans and society are still in evidence today, with a somewhat Hobbesian conception of humans as aggressive, "carnivorous," territory-defending creatures being expressed by such writers as Konrad Lorenz and Robert Ardrey, while others—for example, Ashley Montagu—hold humans to be essentially harmless animals who fight, not because of the influence of their biological drives, but because they are forced to do so.

An important eighteenth-century work was Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* (1748), a comparative study of the laws of different societies. Montesquieu adopted from Locke the idea that legislative, executive, and judicial powers should be separated in the state. The views of Montesquieu and Rousseau influenced the American Declaration of Independence and also the Constitution of the United States, which incorporated the threefold classification of powers.

In an analysis of early societies, Montesquieu pointed to some differences between societies existing at "savage" and "barbarous" levels of cultural development. He noted that the former live in dispersed clans lacking social cohesion, while the latter are capable of being united to form small nations. Savages are generally hunters, while barbarians are herdsmen and shepherds. Similar cultural evolutionary views were set forth by Turgot, another eighteenth-century French writer, and by Adam Ferguson and John Millar. These were adumbrations of the cultural evolutionary schemes of the nineteenth century proposed by Edward B. Tylor, Lewis H. Morgan, and others. Views of this sort did not depend upon the demonstration that biological evolution had taken place; they long antedated Darwin's *Origin of Species*.

Summary

Anthropology, the study of human beings, may be divided into cultural and physical anthropology. Ethnology, linguistics, and archaeology are branches of cultural anthropology. Culture consists of shared concepts and patterns of learned behavior that are handed down from one generation to the next through the means of language and imitation. Linguistics is the study of language, the crucial means of communication through which culture is transmitted. Ethnology is the study of living cultures, while archaeology is the study of past cultures. Physical anthropology deals with primate, including human, physical evolution and also with human biological variation of the present time.

Homo sapiens (our species) is classified as a vertebrate, eutherian mammal and as a primate. In the order of Primates we belong to the suborder Anthroidea and the superfamily of Hominoidea. In the latter category, which also includes the Pongidae, or apes, *Homo sapiens* is classified in the family of Hominidae. *Homo sapiens sapiens* of the present day is the only living hominid, and all contemporary human beings are of the same species.

Although descriptions of the cultures of other societies go back to the time of Herodotus in the fifth century B.C., anthropology as an organized academic discipline is a recent field. In the nineteenth century, compilations and analyses of ethnographic data by such writers as Edward B. Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan opened up this new field of research.



Anthropological Theory: A Historical Review

In the early nineteenth century in England and France, there was a conservative, indeed reactionary, school of thought that attacked romantic Rousseauist doctrines and upheld biblical traditions. Its chief representative, Comte Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821), argued that the American Indian savages had degenerated from a formerly higher condition:

Savage races came later than civilized races and represent their disintegration. . . . One thing is sure, the savage is necessarily later in time than civilized man. For example, let us examine America. This country has every characteristic of a new land. But since civilization is of great antiquity in the old countries, it follows that the savages who inhabited America at the time of the discovery descended from civilized man. (Quoted in Hays 1958:54)

Edward B. Tylor

The English anthropologist Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917) argued that, on the contrary, all the evidence showed that man's earliest tools were simpler than later ones and that there had been a cultural evolution from simple to complex forms running through the three stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. This progressive sequence had developed in different parts of the world.

Tylor believed that cultural similarities in different regions are due to the “like working of men’s minds under like conditions.” There is, in other words, a psychic unity of mankind, independent of race or language, so that people in different societies, when faced with similar problems, have come up with similar solutions to them.

Tylor was aware that there is another explanation for similarities of culture in different parts of the world, namely *diffusion*, the spread of a culture trait from one society to another. Indeed, he wrote that civilization is a plant much more often propagated than independently developed. Both parallel invention and diffusion contribute to the content of a culture, and it is not always easy to be sure which process has been responsible for the presence of a particular culture pattern.

A problem that intrigued Tylor (1896) was whether the Aztec game of patolli was related to the game of pachisi, which originated in India and later spread to Europe and America; some readers of this book will recognize it as the game of Parcheesi. Both patolli and pachisi involve the movement of counters along spaces on a cruciform board according to the throw of dice (although the Aztec “dice” were flat, not cubical, and more than just two were thrown). In both games there were penalty or safety stations and the rule that a person can “kill” an opponent’s counter if he lands on the same space, forcing that counter to go back to the starting point. Since there were so many rules common to both games, Tylor concluded that the games must be related; so perhaps pachisi diffused from Asia to Mexico. He was, thus, perfectly aware of the importance of diffusion, but he was more interested in parallel cultural evolution in different parts of the world. Although Tylor had a broad, general interest in the evolution of culture, he was particularly interested in religion, and about half of his *Primitive Culture* (1877) is devoted to that subject. (His views on religion are set forth in Chapter 13.)

Tylor was mentioned in Chapter 1 as the man who introduced the term *culture*, in its modern anthropological sense, to the English reading public, defining it as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor 1877:I, 1).

Tylor thus provided a new label, a new definition of “culture,” and, in defining it, set forth the subject matter of a new science, cultural anthropology.

Lewis Henry Morgan

Another key figure in the development of anthropology in the nineteenth century was Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–81). A lawyer in upstate New York, Morgan developed an interest in the local Iroquois

Indians and became the friend of an educated Seneca Indian, Ely Parker, who later became commissioner of Indian affairs during Grant's administration. With Parker, Morgan visited the Tonawanda reservation and became fascinated by the still-living traditions and customs of the Iroquois. After he had defended the Seneca in a land-grant case, Morgan was adopted into the Tonawanda band by the grateful Indians. This gave him a further entrée into the Indian community and a familiarity with it that led to the publication of *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* in 1851, the first full field study of an American Indian tribe. In the course of learning about Iroquois life, Morgan was surprised to discover that the kinship institutions and terminology of the Iroquois were different from those of the Western world. The Iroquois had what Morgan termed a *classificatory kinship system* in contrast to the *Euro-American descriptive system*. In our descriptive system, terms applied to lineal kinsmen are not applied to collateral relatives, but in the classificatory system, such terms as *father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter* are extended to many persons who are not lineal kinsmen.

In connection with a financial interest in railway construction, Morgan made some trips to Wisconsin in the 1850s. While there, he visited a Chippewa Indian reservation and inquired into the Chippewa kinship system. Chippewa kinship is different from Iroquois kinship; but Morgan was more struck by the similarities than the differences. He wondered whether classificatory systems were characteristic of American Indian societies in general. To find out, he sent a questionnaire to missions and federal agencies west of the Mississippi. Morgan had the idea that if all American Indian tribes turned out to have classificatory kinship systems, and if such systems were also found in Asia, that would prove the Asian origin of the Indians. Morgan himself traveled to Kansas and Nebraska to collect information at Indian reservations. One of the persons to whom he sent a questionnaire was an American missionary in southern India. Upon receipt of the missionary's Tamil kinship chart, Morgan burst excitedly into a friend's office to show him the close similarities between the Tamil system and the Iroquois system. Morgan decided that the next problem was to find out in which areas of the world descriptive systems existed—how widespread classificatory systems were. He now sent out questionnaires on a worldwide scale in the hope of covering other parts of India, Mongolia, Siberia, China, Japan, Australia, the islands of the Pacific, Africa, and South America. These questionnaires were sent to consular and diplomatic representatives of the United States under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. The resulting tables, together with Morgan's analysis, were published as *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* by the Smithsonian Institution in 1870.

Morgan assumed that the widespread classificatory system was the



Mandan chief, painted by George Catlin. Catlin painted more than 600 Indian portraits and scenes of Indian life east of the Rocky Mountains in the 1830s. In the 1850s, he painted Indians in South America—a valuable pictorial record. *Milwaukee Public Museum*

earlier form, from which a descriptive system developed among the Aryans and Semites. But why did that change take place? Morgan thought that such a transition could develop only through “great reformatory movements”; but another catalytic influence was the idea of property. Morgan began to speculate about the relationships between kinship and economic and political institutions, and this resulted in the publication of *Ancient Society* (1877), his best-known work. *Ancient Society* presented a scheme of cultural evolution, showing that technology, government, and family organization had passed through different stages of Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization. These stages were the same as Tylor’s, but Morgan subdivided the first two stages into Lower, Middle, and Upper. During Lower Savagery, men lived on fruits and nuts, without the use of fire. They had fire and added fish to their diet in the Middle phase and acquired bows and arrows in the Upper. Pottery was made in Lower Barbarism. In the Middle phase, men domesticated animals in the Old World and cultivated maize in the New. Iron tools came in with Upper Barbarism, alphabets and writing with Civilization.

The Comparative Method

How did nineteenth-century writers like Morgan draw up their stages of cultural evolution? What sort of information was at their disposal? In those days archaeological evidence was still limited, although it did suggest that there had been a general development from simpler to more complex cultures. Written history provided fuller documentation but was also quite limited, dealing mainly with relatively late civilizations of the Western world. This left one important source of information: reports about non-Western societies at different levels of subsistence: hunting-gathering, horticulture, and agriculture. Such societies could be seen as having remained arrested at a level of cultural evolution that others had transcended. So one could get an idea of what the Paleolithic was like by studying the Australian aborigines and learn about the Neolithic from the Pueblo Indians. There are many different societies at a hunting-gathering level, and their cultures are not all alike, but one can get a general idea of this stage of cultural evolution from the elements that these societies have in common. In this way Morgan reconstructed stages of cultural evolution from ethnographic accounts, supplemented by some guesswork. There were many weaknesses in Morgan’s scheme. Men have been hunters for millions of years; neither a nuts-and-fruit stage nor a subsequent fishing stage seems plausible. If we were to follow Morgan’s scheme, the Polynesians would appear at the same cultural evolutionary level as the Australian aborigines, while the Inca and

Maya would rank below African tribes that have acquired iron. These and many other criticisms have been made of Morgan's outline, but at least it had the advantage of setting forth a provisional plan of evolutionary development.

Different stages were characterized, according to Morgan, by different forms of family and kinship organization. Morgan's ideas on this subject were influenced by (and contributed to) the thinking of other nineteenth-century writers. There were strong differences of opinion among some of these men. Tylor, John F. McLennan (1827–81), and John Lubbock (1834–1913) severely criticized Morgan's work. But there were also some widespread ideas shared by many of the late nineteenth-century writers. It was generally believed that the first human beings lived in a state of sexual promiscuity and later in a somewhat more controlled form of group marriage. Since a child would never know who its father was under such a system, the term *father* would be extended to all males of the first ascending generation and the term *mother* would be extended to all women who were potential stepmothers. When unilineal kinship systems came into being, they were first matrilineal, tracing descent in the female line (see page 157), since at least a child would know who its mother was; but it was held that in the course of time matrilineal clans gave way to patrilineal ones (tracing descent in the male line), as the married pair became a more stable unit and a sense of private property developed. For Morgan and for most other nineteenth-century writers, the monogamous family of the Western world was the supreme development in the evolution of the family. Although their views challenged traditional ones, men like Tylor and Morgan were not radicals. Indeed, Morgan asserted that the dominance of the concern for property over the other passions marked the commencement of civilization.

Under the circumstances, it seems odd that Morgan was taken up by the Marxists and eventually became a hero in the Soviet Union. Karl Marx claimed that Morgan had independently discovered the materialist conception of history. Friedrich Engels, who collaborated with Marx in writing the *Communist Manifesto*, wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) as a left-wing *Reader's Digest* version of Morgan's *Ancient Society*.

The Marxists gave a new twist to Morgan's ideas. Just as capitalism and private property, from their point of view, do not represent the final stage of economic development, in the same way monogamy will be superseded with a change in social conditions. Primitive bands were communistic; their cohesion gave way with the development of the idea of private property. But the society of the future will once again become communist, and the isolation of the bourgeois family will then disappear. This view conjured up visions of a return to conditions of sexual promiscuity. In practice, the Soviet Union has supported the

integrity of the individual family; if Engels predicted its withering away under communism, it has not yet done so there.

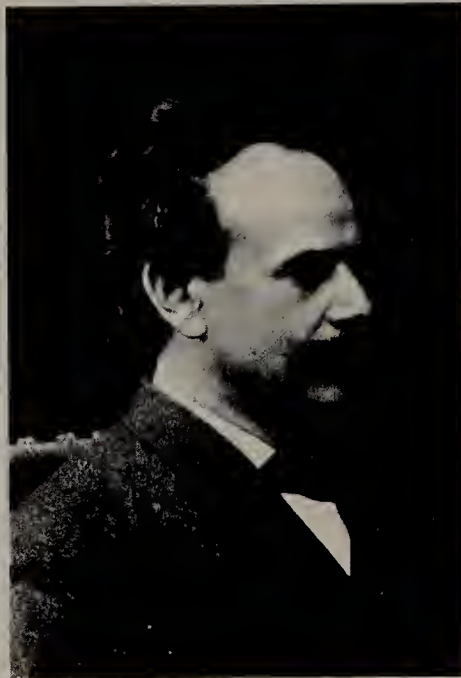
The Marxists' canonization of Morgan has led them to accept many of his doctrines as virtual laws, including the universal priority of matriliney before patriliney. Much of Soviet archaeology has been dominated by Morgan's conceptions. As we shall see, Morgan's ideas met with a different, more fluctuating, reception in the United States.

Diffusionism

In addition to cultural evolutionist schemes, the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also produced schools that emphasized the role of diffusion. There were two main schools, one British, the other German and Austrian. The leading spokesmen of the British school were G. Elliot Smith, William J. Perry, and W. H. R. Rivers. It was their belief that most aspects of higher civilization first developed in Egypt and then diffused to other parts of the world. If agriculture, pottery making, weaving, pyramid building, and various other features were to be found in the Americas and elsewhere, this was due to the explorations of Egyptians or of people who had been in contact with Egyptian civilization. These notions were based upon the assumptions that most people are un inventive and that parallel cultural evolution is rare. American anthropologists were hostile to this school of thought, which seems by now to have become extinct.

The German and Austrian *Kulturkreis* (culture circle) school was represented by Fritz Graebner and Father Wilhelm Schmidt, among others. Their reconstructions represent an amalgam of cultural evolution and diffusion, sharing with the pan-Egyptian school some skepticism about alleged cases of parallel evolution, since they too believed that human beings are generally un inventive. Members of this school held that diffusion of culture traits may take place over great distances and that cultures may diffuse in great complexes of traits. For example, Graebner related the "Melanesian bow culture" to the Neolithic culture of central Europe, since both had pile dwellings with rectangular ground plans, coiled pottery, a special way of hafting adzes, and spoons.

Father Schmidt isolated a group of what he considered to be the "ethnologically oldest" peoples. These consisted of hunting-gathering bands which were remnants of societies that had diverged from the world's oldest culture without having since added many new cultural trappings, since they had made their ways into marginal areas of the world—in the Arctic, Tierra del Fuego, deep jungles, deserts, and other isolated regions. This early horizon is represented by the Pygmies, Semang, Andamanese, Australian aborigines, Tasmanians, Eskimos,



Franz Boas. *The American Museum of Natural History*

Algonkian Indians, Indians of central California, and some of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego. By studying the common characteristics of these cultures, Father Schmidt suggested, we may be able to reconstruct characteristics of the oldest culture of the world.

Franz Boas

A reaction against nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism and diffusionism came from the work of Franz Boas and his students. Born in 1858, Boas was reared and educated in Germany.

Boas's first fieldwork, from 1883 to 1884, was among the Central Eskimos. Boas had been influenced by the concept of geographical determinism and wanted to see to what extent the culture of the Eskimos was shaped by their environment. His experience in Baffinland led him to conclude that geography plays a mainly limiting rather than creative role. The Eskimos did things in spite of their environment, not just because of it; they had a particular history and set of traditions behind them that were different from those of other northerly peoples, such as the Siberian Chukchee, who lived in a similar environment. A culture is shaped by many historical forces, including contacts with other societies.

This awareness of the complexity of determinants led Boas to be skeptical of universal laws such as those set forth by the cultural evolutionists. He thought that broad generalizations might perhaps be

arrived at; but, if so, these might turn out to be only commonplaces. Rather than announcing any new doctrine, Boas attacked the works of previous writers, and his students followed this critical bent. For example, John Swanton showed that the tribes of North America did not show the progression of kinship organization postulated by Morgan and others. Hunting bands with bilateral or patrilineal descent lived at a simpler level of culture than the more advanced Hopi, Zuni, Creek, and Natchez Indians, who had matrilineal descent.

Boas thought that the global generalizations about cultural evolution made by nineteenth-century writers were premature, based on inadequate information about primitive cultures collected from the writings of traders, sea captains, and missionaries, who often had only a biased, superficial understanding of the people they observed. Boas declared for a moratorium on theorizing. He recommended that we first get the facts and build up a body of ethnographic data from which more reliable generalizations can later be made. Meanwhile, he warned, primitive cultures all over the world are disappearing under the impact of Western civilization. He pointed out that time is short and that we must go out and record the facts of native life before these cultures vanish.

Boas followed his own prescription. From 1886 to 1931 he made 13 field trips to the Northwest Coast of North America. He trained himself to learn the languages of Indians of the area, as he had earlier learned Eskimo. Boas was a leader in the development of American linguistics. One reason for this emphasis was that he believed a culture should be understood in terms of the categories of the natives themselves, not of those imposed by an outside observer. The purpose should be to see how the world looks to a member of that culture. Folktales were recorded by Boas in the native language and later translated. The recording of texts was one of his main activities in the field. Some understanding of the language was necessary, he believed, when dealing with complex sets of ideas, such as those concerning religion, which may be distorted when translated by an interpreter.

Boas's students worked in this tradition. Hence, we have today an impressive body of field reports on American Indian cultures, on the Winnebago, Crow, Arapaho, and the tribes of the Pueblo area and California. Marian Smith has suggested that Boas wanted the data collected to be as free of bias as possible; interpretations should be made only after the ethnography has been recorded. Smith (1959:53) noted, "It therefore followed that information gathered for a particular purpose became suspect, for selection in itself suggested distortion." So Boas trained his students to be camera eyes, recording anything and everything. (The feasibility of this aim will be questioned in the following chapter.)

Boas's effort to learn as much as possible about a particular culture

in all of its minutiae is an *idiographic* approach to culture, as opposed to a *nomothetic* approach, which involves a search for general laws or regularities. As has been mentioned, he was skeptical about the possibility of finding cultural laws and suggested that it would be better to reconstruct the historical development of particular cultures. If this were done on a sufficiently large scale, it might become possible to compare histories of cultural development and see if regularities were discernible.

By 1930, however, Boas was skeptical of such an outcome:

An error of modern anthropology, as I see it, lies in the overemphasis on historical reconstruction, the importance of which should not be minimized, as against a penetrating study of the individual under the stress of the culture in which he lives. (Quoted in Harris 1968:281)

The idiographic approach of Boas and many of his followers, with its mistrust of laws and generalities, led finally to critical attacks by Leslie White and others who wanted to make anthropology more of a generalizing science.

Bronislaw Malinowski

After studying anthropology in England for four years, just before World War I, Malinowski (1884–1942) set out to do fieldwork in Melanesia and Australia, where he was interned as an enemy alien but allowed to continue his work from 1915 to 1918. Malinowski's prolonged stay in the Trobriand Islands formed the basis for a series of ethnographic works that have become classics in anthropology. He was attracted to the social life of Europeans in the islands, but he determined to cut himself off from these contacts and to live among the Trobriand people, whose language he learned. Like Boas, Malinowski took down texts in the native tongue and tried to find the natives' own terms of classification for their institutions and practices in an effort to "get inside the native's skin." Also like Boas, he was interested in the many interrelated aspects of the total culture and in what he called "the imponderabilia of actual life." He was not, however, concerned with trying to reconstruct the antecedents of Trobriand culture, about which he thought little could be learned. Malinowski promoted an approach that he called "functionalism," seeing the culture of a society as providing various means for satisfying the needs of its members. He wrote (1926b:132):

The functional view of culture insists upon the principle that every type of civilization, every custom, material object, idea, and belief fulfills



Bronislaw Malinowski. Courtesy of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

some vital function, has some task to accomplish, represents an indispensable part within a working whole.

This view was partly in reaction to the attitude that the customs of non-Western societies are often bizarre or irrational or represent survivals from earlier stages of cultural development.

At the same time, however, Malinowski did not see individuals as being dominated by their culture. He suggested that perhaps "the heathen can be as self-seeking and self-interested as any Christian" (Malinowski 1926a:ix). Whenever a Trobriand native can escape his obligations without losing prestige, he is likely to do so.

In his work Malinowski's focus was on a particular society at a given moment in time. He was interested in seeing how food is acquired from the environment and distributed within the society, how social conflicts are handled and adjusted, and how social cohesion and cooperation are ensured. This involves a study of the interrelations among economics, social organization, religion, and other institutions, for Malinowski saw all aspects of culture as being closely interwoven.

Malinowski was always interested in the individual member of society. Although he referred to Trobriand natives as "savages" in the nineteenth-century fashion, and although he sometimes wrote of them contemptuously in the day-to-day journal which he kept, Malinowski described the Trobrianders in his books and articles as reasonable, pragmatic persons whose behavior is altogether understandable when one knows their cultural premises.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown

Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown was born and educated in England and studied anthropology under W. H. R. Rivers and A. C. Haddon. His ethnological fieldwork in the Andaman Islands from 1906 to 1908 provided the material for his book *The Andaman Islanders*. From 1910 to 1912 he did fieldwork in Australia, and in subsequent years he taught anthropology in universities in many parts of the world, including Cape Town, Sydney, Chicago, and Oxford.

Like Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown was interested in the synchronic study of a particular society at one period of time and was not concerned with historical reconstruction. The proper focus for investigation, for Radcliffe-Brown, was not the culture of a society—too vague and broad a concept for him—but its social structure, the network of social relations. Kinship ties are always important in the tribal societies studied by Radcliffe-Brown and his students. The emphasis on social structure made Radcliffe-Brown a kind of sociologist, as he himself declared.

Psychological Anthropology

We have seen that by 1930 Franz Boas was advocating “a penetrating study of the individual under the stress of the culture in which he lives.” Two of his students, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, advanced this new kind of investigation. Mead’s work in Samoa (1928) will be briefly discussed in the following chapter. Mead (1930) also carried out research among Manus children in the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea.

The cross-cultural study of childhood has been a relatively recent development in anthropology, which was originally concerned with adult culture. If any attention was paid to child training in the earlier ethnography, it was usually a secondary matter, a side issue. An interest in child training among anthropologists was brought about partly by the influence of Freudian theory and partly by the influence of John Dewey in education. Both of these currents may be seen in the work of Margaret Mead. Bronislaw Malinowski (1953) was also one of the first to concern himself with childhood experience and the relevance of psychoanalytic theory in a non-Western society.

Cross-Cultural Surveys

Another kind of research was made possible in the 1940s with the development of the Yale Cross-Cultural Survey, which later became

known as the **Human Relations Area Files (HRAF)**. These files contain ethnographic data about a few hundred societies from the various culture areas of the world. A simple coding system makes it possible for someone to quickly find the information he seeks about cultural practices in different societies, whether they be fishing techniques or toilet-training practices.

One advantage of this method of data organization is that it facilitates the discovery of correlations of culture patterns and the testing of hypotheses. One may predict that certain correlations will appear under particular conditions. On the other hand, correlations do not speak for themselves; when they do appear, there may be conflicting explanations for them, with inconclusive results.

Broad cross-cultural surveys, like those making use of the HRAF files, are quite different in nature from the intensive description of a single culture, like that of Malinowski. The former studies tend to be nomothetic, the latter idiographic and relativistic. Malinowski's desire to "get inside the native's skin" and see the world as a Trobriander sees it has been called an *emic* approach to the study of culture, in contrast to an *etic* approach, which relies upon classifications and judgments agreed upon by outside "scientific" observers. An etic analysis may consist of observation of behavior that does not involve learning the viewpoints of those involved. The categories of the Human Relations Area Files provide an etic grid that may be applied to the cultures of the world. Many books and articles have appeared that make use of the HRAF.

The Return to Cultural Evolution

We have seen that Boas and his followers were often critical of the works of nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists, including Morgan and Tylor, and that they were skeptical of the value of making broad cross-cultural generalizations. Beginning in the 1930s, the Boasian emphasis on historical particularism came in for a series of polemic attacks by Leslie A. White. White became an ardent champion of Morgan and Tylor and a proponent of the study of cultural evolution. In time, he acquired a band of enthusiastic disciples, while another constellation of disciples (some of whom were also followers of White) formed about another prominent student of cultural evolution, Julian H. Steward. White and Steward have sometimes been referred to as "neoevolutionists," a term rejected by White, who claimed that he was simply carrying on the nineteenth-century traditions of Tylor and had added nothing new.

White did, however, add something new; for one thing, he propounded a "Basic Law of Evolution," which read as follows: "Other

factors remaining constant, culture evolves as the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year is increased or as the efficiency of the means of putting the energy to work is increased" (White 1959:368-69). What distinguishes a stage of evolution from a preceding stage is the increase in available energy. For White, adaptation and culture change are not synonymous with evolution; history is not evolution. Cultural evolution occurs when more energy is made available to humans; this tends to be associated with increased complexity of social organization and social differentiation. White claims that Steward has sometimes failed to make a proper distinction between mere culture change and evolution.

Steward (1955:14-15) has made a distinction between three schools of evolutionary thought:

First, *unilinear evolution*, the classical nineteenth-century formulation, dealt with particular cultures, placing them in stages of a universal sequence. Second, *universal evolution*—a rather arbitrary label to designate the modern revamping of unilinear evolution—is concerned with culture rather than with cultures. Third, *multilinear evolution*, a somewhat less ambitious approach than the other two, is like unilinear evolution in dealing with developmental sequences, but is distinctive in searching for parallels of limited occurrence instead of universals.

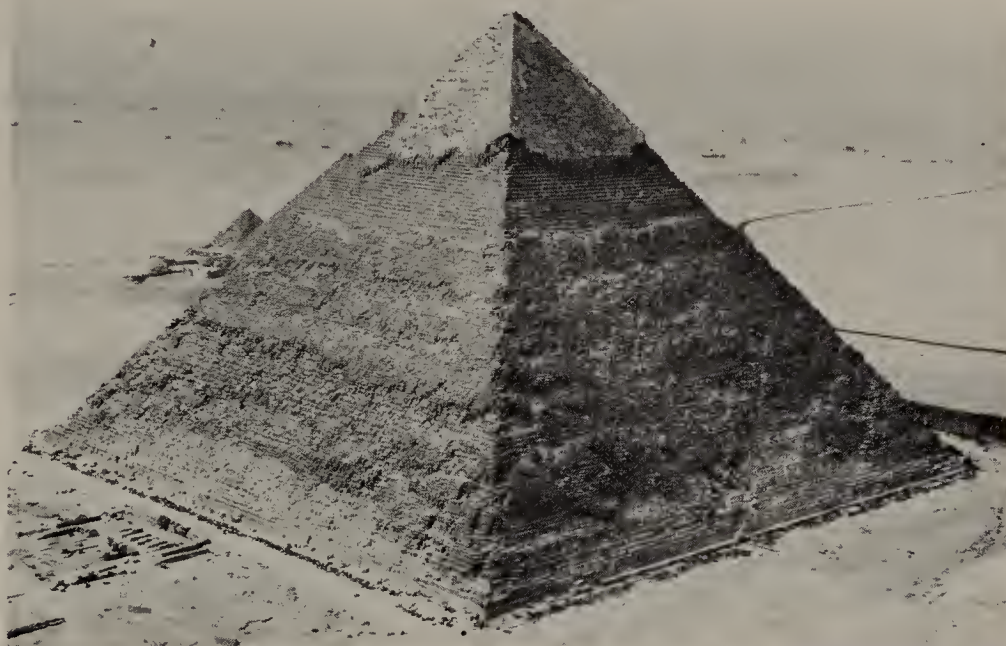
Morgan and Tylor, then, would be unilinear evolutionists, White a universal evolutionist, and Steward a multilinear evolutionist.

Steward has been concerned with discovering cross-cultural regularities, similar patterns in cultural development such as occurred in the Bronze Age Old World civilizations, on the one hand, and the New World civilizations of Mexico and Peru, on the other. Analysis of such regularities may reveal underlying processes that have led to the appearance of similar institutions.

Human Ecology

Ecology is the study of the interrelationship of organisms and their environment, including both the physical environment and other living organisms. Human adaptation to the environment involves culture; hence, Steward used the term *cultural ecology* for the study of human adjustment to particular geographical settings. He followed three basic procedures, involving analyses of (1) the relationship between technology and environment, (2) the behavior patterns involved in exploiting a particular area with a particular technology, and (3) the extent to which these behavior patterns affect other aspects of culture.

Steward noted that hunting-gathering bands varied in size and composition, depending on local resources and circumstances. Some were large, composite bands, while others, such as those of the



An example of **parallel cultural evolution**: (above) pyramid in Egypt near Cairo, (below) pyramid in Mexico at Chichén Itzá. Presumably some parallel features of social organization made such structures possible. *Top, Bob Mader, Tom Stack; Bottom, Robert Mitchell, Tom Stack*

Shoshone Indians, were composed of small family units. Steward's interests were not limited to the hunting-gathering level of sociocultural integration but extended to large hydraulic civilizations and modern nations as well. Thus, there is a close relationship between Steward's work in cultural ecology and his outline of cultural evolution.

There have been other approaches besides Steward's to the study of human ecology. Andrew P. Vayda and Roy A. Rappaport (1968) have a more biological and functional orientation, hoping to bring ecological studies in anthropology within the theoretical framework of general

ecology. This is evidenced in Rappaport's study (1967) of the Tsembaga of New Guinea, who periodically slaughter large numbers of pigs. Rappaport argues that these ritual slaughters keep the land from being overrun with pigs and maintain balances between the people and their sweet potato crops and fauna. This is a form of functionalist analysis, with an ecological emphasis.

Cultural Materialism

Cultural materialism is an approach that has been advocated and given a label by Marvin Harris (1968, 1979). It is a kind of Marxism minus Marxist dialectical materialism (the alleged process of social change from thesis through antithesis to synthesis), plus demographic and ecological considerations. Harris finds the source of this approach in Karl Marx's emphasis on the mode of production (subsistence, technology, work patterns, and so forth) as constituting the core of a sociocultural system, more basic than its other aspects. Harris adds the mode of reproduction (demography, mating patterns, fertility, nurturance of infants, and so forth) to that of mode of production to make up the "infrastructure" of such a system. Its "structure" has to do with the society's domestic and political economy, while the "superstructure" includes art, music, ritual, games, and other presumably less-essential matters. It is Harris's assumption that changes in the infrastructure are more likely to bring about changes in the structure and superstructure than are influences in the reverse direction. He calls this the principle of *infrastructural determinism*. "The strategic significance of the principle of infrastructural determinism is that it provides a set of priorities for the formulation and testing of theories and hypotheses about the causes of sociocultural phenomena. Cultural materialists give highest priority to the effort to formulate and test theories in which infrastructural variables are the primary causal factors" (Harris 1979:56).

There is an effort, then, to adhere to scientific method in the testing of hypotheses and to give priority to assessing the cultural consequences of changes in the modes of production and reproduction. Harris asserts that this research strategy is more productive than other current approaches in anthropology, such as Lévi-Straussian structuralism and psychological anthropology.

Cognitive Anthropology

During the past thirty years a small but influential group of anthropologists, consisting mainly of anthropological linguists, has

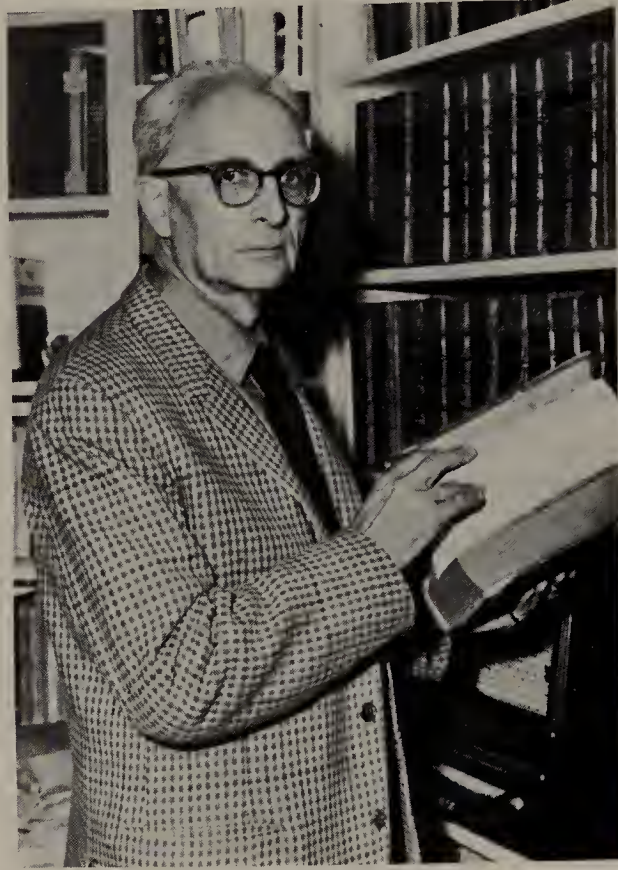
advocated and applied an ethnographic approach that involves eliciting from native speakers of a society under investigation the taxonomic features of their language. The aim is to see how the speakers of this language categorize the phenomena of their world, what distinctions are important to them, what organizing principles determine their conceptions of reality. It is believed that this method of ethnographic research avoids the imposition of the fieldworker's own categories upon the culture. Charles Frake, one spokesman for this group, states that "an ethnography should be a theory of cultural behavior in a particular society, the adequacy of which is to be evaluated by the ability of a stranger to the culture . . . to use the ethnography's statements as instructions for appropriately anticipating the scenes of the society" (Frake 1964:112).

The aim is to be able to look through the eyes of a "native speaker" and see the world as he does. This aim is not new, for both Boas and Malinowski, among others, expressed it in one way or another; but cognitive anthropologists believe that their linguistic approach is a more rigorous means to that end than were earlier approaches. One criticism of this school has been that learning the rules of a culture does not necessarily help one to understand the actual behavior of members of that society.

Claude Lévi-Strauss

Claude Lévi-Strauss, who seems at present to be the leading figure in anthropology in continental Europe, is the exponent of what he calls *structural anthropology*, the title of a collection of his papers published in 1963. One might think that structural anthropology has to do with the analysis of social structure in the manner of Radcliffe-Brown and his followers. Indeed, Lévi-Strauss is the author of an influential paper on "Social Structure" (1953), and his book *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, first published in 1949, has to do with kinship organization. Nevertheless, despite his close familiarity with this field, Lévi-Strauss's interests are more psychological than sociological. He has stated that "ethnology is first of all psychology," and it is significant that the comment appears in a work entitled *La Pensée Sauvage*, which has been translated into English as *The Savage Mind* (1966:131).

This interest in psychology does not concern the emotional aspects of personality; rather, Lévi-Strauss's concern is with cognitive processes very much along the lines of the school of cognitive anthropology just discussed. Early in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* the author devotes a chapter to studies of child psychology in order to clarify the psychological basis for the idea of reciprocity. Ways in which people classify things and make order of the world around them are a matter



Claude Lévi-Strauss.
*University of Chicago
Press*

of particular fascination to Lévi-Strauss and form the main theme of *The Savage Mind*.

An important point made by the author is that the mental abilities of “primitive” peoples have long been greatly underrated. He presents a good deal of evidence that peoples with a relatively simple technological culture often have highly elaborate systems for classifying plants and animals, involving much accurate knowledge. This close observation is not limited to species that are edible or useful in other ways. The classifications seem to be generated by sheer intellectual curiosity and by a desire to impose order on the world. This classificatory concern is also devoted to making distinctions between moieties (dual divisions of a society), clans, and other social units.

Lévi-Strauss tries to reveal the “mental structures” that underlie human behavior. According to him, these usually take the form of binary contrasts or oppositions. Hence the frequency with which moieties or other forms of dual organization are associated with contrasting qualities, such as left and right, low and high, cold and warm, earth and sky, north and south, and white and black.

Summary

Both Edward B. Tylor and Lewis H. Morgan drew up schemes of cultural evolution which included the stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Morgan, who initiated the cross-cultural study of kinship organization, provided the subdivisions Lower, Middle, and Upper for the first two stages. He used information about contemporary hunting and horticultural tribes in setting forth the salient characteristics of these early stages.

The British pan-Egyptian school of G. Elliot Smith, William J. Perry, and W. H. R. Rivers exaggerated the role of diffusion, attributing most aspects of civilization in the New World to Egyptian origins. The German-Austrian *Kulturkreis* school combined cultural evolution with diffusionism in an ambitious attempt to reconstruct the culture history of the world.

Franz Boas criticized both the cultural evolutionary and diffusionist schools of the nineteenth century as being premature formulations based on inadequate data. He urged his students to do ethnographic fieldwork in the non-Western societies of the world before their cultures disappeared under the impact of Western civilization.

Like Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski emphasized the value of intensive fieldwork. He declared himself to be a functionalist, holding every custom and tradition in a society to have a vital function. Culture, he claimed, is instrumental in serving human needs. Radcliffe-Brown, who has also been labeled a functionalist, sought to formulate nomothetic social laws in relation to social structure.

In the 1930s the field of psychological anthropology (then called culture-and-personality) came into being with the pioneer studies by Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and others. Projects of this kind involve the intensive study of a single culture. A quite different kind of research is the cross-cultural survey employing the Human Relations Area Files, which provide an etic grid for classifying ethnological data. By examining information from a large number of societies, one may formulate and test hypotheses concerning correlations that may appear between particular institutions.

The search for cross-cultural regularities is also a prominent feature of the work of Julian H. Steward, who along with Leslie A. White brought about a revival of cultural evolutionary theory. Steward was also a pioneer in the field of cultural ecology, which concerns sociocultural adaptations of human groups to their environments.

Among current ethnological schools are those of cultural materialism, cognitive anthropology, and the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss and others. All of these divisions within ethnology draw upon

information that has been collected in the course of field research, to which the following chapter is devoted.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best approach to the authors cited in this chapter would be to read some of their original writings. For example, the articles by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, collected in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), are written with economy and elegance. Also worth reading is Malinowski's "Introduction" to his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), pp. 1-26; it gives a good account of his fieldwork methods. Margaret Mead's best-known early works are published in *From the South Seas: Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow, 1939). The most readable of Lévi-Strauss's books is *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

For a stimulating review of anthropological theory, though one rather biased in favor of "cultural materialism," see Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968). Brief biographies and commentaries on such figures as Edward Tylor, Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Ruth Benedict are available in Abram Kardiner and Edward Preble, *They Studied Man* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961). Nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism is discussed in Robert L. Carneiro, "Classical Evolution," in *Main Currents in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Raoul Naroll and Frada Naroll (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), pp. 57-121.

The career and ideas of Lewis Henry Morgan are presented in Carl Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan: American Scholar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

A series of articles about Franz Boas and his work is available in *The Anthropology of Franz Boas: Essays on the Centennial of His Birth*, ed. Walter Goldschmidt, American Anthropological Association Memoir no. 89, 1959. For a critical assessment of both Boas and Radcliffe-Brown, see Leslie A. White, *The Social Organization of Ethnological Theory*, Rice University Studies, vol. 52 (Houston, Tex., 1966), pp. 1-66.

Adam Kuper's *Anthropologists and Anthropology: The British School: 1922-1972* (New York: Pica Press, 1973) deals with the works of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Lévi-Strauss, and their followers in England. On Lévi-Strauss, see Edmund Leach, *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (New York: Viking Press, 1970). For two critical assessments, see Francis Korn, *Elementary Structures Reconsidered: Lévi-Strauss on Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); and Philip Pettit, *The Concept of Structuralism: A Critical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

Marvin Harris's brief for the research strategy of cultural materialism and his criticisms of other strategies are set forth in his *Cultural Materialism* (New York: Random House, 1979). For some critical comments on this book, see the review by Anthony F. C. Wallace, *American Anthropologist* 82:423-26.



Field Research Methods

The basic data of ethnology come from field research involving the use of interviews and the observation of behavior. An ethnologist goes to a selected community or region and lives there for a period of time, taking notes and sometimes also using such techniques as tape recording and still or motion-picture photography. As one practiced field-worker stated, "A peculiar character of fieldwork in anthropology and in other social sciences is that the scientist has to communicate with the objects studied and they with him, and that he is part of the situation studied" (Powdermaker 1966:286-87). It is quite a different situation, therefore, from studying stars, rocks, butterflies, or rats.

Since it is impossible to record everything that goes on in a particular society, the researcher must be selective in what he or she observes, writes down, and finally publishes. As noted in Chapter 1, the aim of much early anthropology was to describe a culture as a whole in an *ethnography*, or comprehensive ethnographic report. This aim stemmed partly from the wish to record information about non-Western cultures before they disappeared; it was also influenced by the conviction of anthropologists such as Malinowski that all aspects of culture are interrelated and make up a unified whole.

Recent fieldwork has more often been problem oriented; the field worker sets out with a hypothesis or a set of hypotheses to test in the field. This, of course, limits the scope of investigation. Both kinds of

research can be carried out in the same community: after a general ethnography has been produced, more specialized studies can be made.

Although the usual procedure is to study a community or a group of communities, some field research has been carried out with single informants. While such research may seem to lack validity, good results have nevertheless been obtained in this way, as in the case of some linguistic studies. The grammar of a language and a sizable vocabulary have often been obtained from a single informant. Another example of useful research carried out with single informants is the recording of life histories. Leo Simmons (1942), for example, persuaded Don Talayesva, a Hopi Indian, to record his autobiography, which contains a rich storehouse of information about Hopi culture. Of course, much information about Hopi life has also come from the more usual ethnographic approach. When the aim of field research is to reconstruct a largely defunct culture, the ethnologist may concentrate on interviewing a few older informants who can remember the old days.

Selection of a Site

Nowadays, jet planes make it possible to reach any spot on the globe in a short time; but national restrictions now make it harder than formerly for anthropologists to do research wherever they might wish. Passports and visas were not so important before World War I, when, as Ralph Linton (1949:6) recalls, "it was possible to travel almost anywhere on earth with no better credentials than a checkbook." That is no longer the case, and there are now many countries where it is either impossible or quite difficult for an anthropologist to get permission to do fieldwork. This limits the options in selecting a site.

The ethnologist usually looks for a community that seems to be representative of a particular culture area or tribal group. The final choice is influenced by various practical considerations, such as the accessibility of the site, the availability of housing, and local health conditions. The field worker may choose a relatively small community on the assumption that it will be more manageable than a larger one. On the other hand, anthropologists working in India have often looked for a relatively large village that contains a good representation of different castes, since the Hindu caste system has often been a focus of South Asian research. One of the best studies of a peasant community, *Village Japan*, concerns the village of Niiike, which had only 130 persons, while another fine village study, Oscar Lewis's (1951) analysis of Tepoztlán, Mexico, deals with a community of more than four thousand persons. Jean Briggs (1970) lived with an Eskimo group that contained only two families when she first arrived.

Some ethnologists do fieldwork in a number of communities within the same culture area. Napoleon Chagnon, who was interested in village fission and warfare among the Yanomamö of southern Venezuela, visited forty or fifty different Yanomamö villages, although he stayed in some for an extended period of time. "I could not . . . hope to understand the contemporary political stance of a particular village without knowing how that village was related to neighbors in its lineage composition, its history, and its past political dealings with them" (Chagnon 1974:46).

Entry into the Community

The most difficult period in fieldwork is often the beginning. This section will deal with some of the problems that field workers encounter when they embark on this venture. However, the reader should bear in mind that, despite its problems, fieldwork can be exciting and rewarding.

What sort of situation faces an ethnologist starting fieldwork? First of all, the local people are apt to be suspicious of a stranger who settles down for a long stay, especially if the stranger belongs to a different national or racial group and dresses quite differently from the local people. In many areas strangers are assumed to be merchants, missionaries, government officials, or spies, so that most strangers will be seen as unwelcome intruders. Since the Guatemalan Indians among whom they stayed thought that Benjamin Paul (1953) and his wife were merchants, these Indians crowded around them, fingering their clothes and asking about the prices of their belongings. While such a misunderstanding may be cleared up easily enough, it is harder to dispel suspicions that the strangers are government agents or spies. Since an ethnologist asks many questions, people may conclude that he has been sent by the government to probe into their financial assets so as to raise taxes.

Such problems may be obviated if the ethnologist is introduced to the community by someone with local connections. Jean Briggs, for example, brought to her Eskimo community some introductory letters written (in a syllabic script familiar to Canadian Eskimos) by an Eskimo missionary and his wife. "The letters said that I would like to live with the Utku for a year or so, learning the Eskimo language and skills. . . . They asked the Eskimos to help me with words and with fish and promised that in return I would help them with tea and kerosene" (Briggs 1970:19). Without some such introduction the field worker may face suspicion and hostility.

Sometimes, not knowing what to expect, the anthropologist is frightened by the first field encounter, as happened to Napoleon Chagnon

An Inuit (Central Eskimo) family posing for John Matthiasson, who worked with them in 1973. Until shortly before this picture was taken, the family had lived in a hunting camp, where the father was headman. Now he is a painter, while the oldest son works on an oil rig. Both hunt on weekends. *John S. Matthiasson*



after he had made his way through a low passage of leaves and brush into a village of Yanomamö Indians in southern Venezuela: "I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses" (Chagnon 1977:5).¹

The anthropologist may have to adjust to startling conditions such as these or else give up and go home. If the decision is to remain, the field worker must win the goodwill of the local people. An explanation for one's presence in the community may be a good opening move. At the outset of his research in Bunyoro in western Uganda, John Beattie (1965:14) made a speech to the assembled villagers declaring that he was neither a missionary nor a government agent and that he merely wanted to learn their language and customs. When, in 1910, Crow Indians in Montana asked Robert Lowie why he had come there, he explained that he wished to talk to the old men and to hear their stories and learn how they used to hunt and play. "Oh, I see," said a young Crow, "you're an ethnologist" (Lowie 1959:60).

¹ The Indians had just been taking a hallucinogenic drug that produced the strands of green slime. At a later stage in his fieldwork, Chagnon took this drug himself (see below, page 49).

This Crow Indian was exceptionally sophisticated for that time, when many white Americans had no idea what an ethnologist was. Nowadays, the role of anthropological field worker has become much better known, not only among American Indians but also in Third World nations, where ethnologists may be unwelcome because of their associations with colonialism. In such areas the anthropologist may be seen as a representative of an exploitative white nation who is engaged in extracting information (like raw materials) that he takes home, where it may benefit him but cannot be of any help to the natives themselves (D. Lewis 1973). However, in Chapter 16, "Applied Anthropology," we will consider some ways in which anthropologists have, after all, assisted the people whom they have studied.

Upon arrival in the research community, then, the field worker must account for his or her presence and must learn to get along as well as possible with the local people. It may help to establish rapport if the ethnologist brings along first aid supplies or a medicine kit, dresses cuts and bruises, and gives aspirin, antibiotics, and pills for malaria or other ailments. If he or she has a jeep, rides may be given to members of the community when they need transportation. Gerald Berreman (1962:9) found that his battery radio made him popular in a Himalayan village. "It was an endless source of diversion to villagers, and attracted a regular audience, as well as being a local attraction for visiting relatives and friends from other villages." Taking photographs of local people and distributing them to the subjects may also help to break the ice.

Through such measures the ethnologist gains some acceptance. A major problem for field workers, however, is the language barrier. Among such peoples as the Bunyoro and the Yanomamö, the ethnologist must either learn the language, which of course takes time, or else hire an interpreter. The field worker may start out using an interpreter and later, having learned enough of the language, work directly with informants. When Cora Du Bois, for example, decided to do research in Alor, which was at that time (1938) part of the Netherlands East Indies, she first studied Dutch and then Malay, a lingua franca in the area. Du Bois used an interpreter for the local language, which had not been studied before, but she was able to learn that language as well. "From the beginning vocabularies and texts were taken down phonetically, and by the time that autobiographical material was recorded a year later, I was able to translate directly into English as the informants gave their life histories" (Du Bois 1960:x-xi).

John Beattie (1965:22) did not employ a full-time interpreter or assistant during his first six months in Bunyoro, but by the end of that period he was able to communicate with informants: "I could now use the language, if not fluently, at least well enough to ask the questions I

wanted to ask and to understand the answers, and also to grasp some of the import of overheard conversations."

A good interpreter can become a valued assistant, not only in translation but also as a kind of fellow ethnologist, once he has come to understand what the field worker is trying to do.

As time goes on, the field worker may feel more at home in the community, especially if he or she has been able to master the language to some extent. The ethnologist may live in the same sort of quarters as the local people and eat the same food they eat, although that is sometimes difficult. "It was hard to accustom myself to a diet of raw fish, eaten skin, scales, and all," writes Jean Briggs of her Eskimo days (1970:228-29). Nevertheless, one can get used to an unfamiliar diet and one may even adopt some aspects of the local dress.

Despite a growing sense of feeling at home, the field worker may start to discover rifts and tensions within the community, on getting to know it better. Small villages are often rife with factionalism. The field worker may feel pleased to have established good working relations with a particular group, only to find that he is mistrusted by segments in the community that are at odds with that group. In a stratified society the ethnologist may start out working with higher ranking people and thus alienate lower-status groups, or, if he establishes good ties with the lower orders, he runs the risk of disapproval by the higher ranks.

The small Himalayan village (population 384) studied by Gerald Berreman was divided into high and low castes. Berreman brought a Brahman interpreter from the plains of India, who got on well with the high-caste Brahmans and Rajputs of the village. When this interpreter became ill and had to leave, Berreman found a new interpreter, a Muslim, who was less acceptable to the higher castes, but developed excellent rapport with the lower castes. "Furthermore, low-caste people proved to be more informative than high-caste people on most subjects" (1962:10). The higher-caste villagers were anxious to present themselves as enlightened Hindus and proper representatives of their castes; so they tried to hide aspects of village life that did not fit that picture. The lower castes had less to lose and could be more frank, especially when the Muslim interpreter was introduced and Berreman was no longer identified so closely with the higher castes.

Fieldwork Techniques

Many fieldworkers begin their research with a general survey of the community, making a rough map of it and visiting each of the houses to get a local census and genealogical data. It is this sort of inquiry, unfortunately, that may spread "government agent" rumors; but if

such rumors can be laid to rest, the local census is a good way to start. The ethnologist visits each household in turn, enabling introductions to be made. Questions are then asked about the members of the household and their ages, who is married to whom, how many children and grandchildren there are, where married daughters are living, what sources of income are available, what the level of education is, and so on. In this process, kinship terms can also be learned, which makes possible an analysis of the kinship system, a subject of prime importance for social anthropologists.

Hortense Powdermaker studied the Melanesian community of Lesu in New Ireland, which had a sort of Stone Age culture. After explaining that the people of her country knew nothing about Lesu and that she had come to study its customs, which she would report about on her return to the United States, Powdermaker embarked on a local census. There seems to have been no suspicion about this enterprise, and there was some lively reciprocity in response to the field worker's interest in genealogy. "From the beginning, people were friendly. They wanted to know about my family: parents, brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, and other relatives of my 'clan.' One night as I sat around a fire with a group, they repeated after me, in chorus fashion, the names of each member of my family. . . . They asked for details about the marriages and the children and this interest remained throughout my stay in Lesu" (Powdermaker 1966:62).²

Napoleon Chagnon (1974:90, 94), who was particularly thorough in collecting genealogies, states that over a three-year period he met approximately three thousand Yanomamö persons who are recorded in his genealogies, but the total number of persons he listed, both living and dead, comes to about ten thousand. Yanomamö informants were often unreliable in giving genealogies, and Chagnon found that obtaining an adequate genealogy required at least three trustworthy informants, one of whom should be older than fifty, while another should be from a different group. Chagnon recommends the use of computers in organizing fieldwork data: "Once I had converted most of my genealogical and settlement pattern data to IBM cards and could return each year with computer printouts of long lists of names, gardens, and relationships, I could work for days with any particular informant—there was no end to the detailed questions I could ask" (Chagnon 1974:61).

In the course of time the field worker usually acquires a few *key*

² The people of Lesu were puzzled by the absence of the field worker's husband. Powdermaker was unmarried but decided not to say so, because that would seem too strange in this community. So she said that because her ex-husband had not worked well, they had divorced. The people murmured, "Just like us" (Powdermaker 1966:63).

informants who have proven to be helpful and reliable. The ethnologist should try to assess how representative of the local community these informants are. The information they give should be checked against the reports of others, and what people say they do should be compared with what they actually do. A person may be well informed on some aspects of the local culture but not on others.

Participant observation is a term used for an ethnographer's immersion in the life of a community being studied, which involves attendance at weddings, funerals, and the daily round of events. The ethnographer gets to know the people by living with them but must also take notes in the process, although this may sometimes be done at the end of the day in the field worker's own quarters.

Bronislaw Malinowski was a prime exponent of the participant observation method. During World War I Malinowski lived in the Trobriand Islands in Melanesia and learned the native language. He took a village census and wrote down genealogies and kinship terms, but he found that he was still not making much progress in understanding Trobriand culture. Malinowski decided that he would have to cut off ties with the other white people who lived on the islands and spend all of his time with the Trobrianders, attending festivals and funerals and listening to the gossip, quarrels, and jokes of his neighbors. As Malinowski became an apparently permanent member of the community, the Trobrianders were no longer made self-conscious by his presence. When he made mistakes in Trobriand etiquette, they corrected him. Malinowski gradually began to occupy a position in the community where little could escape him. "Alarms about the sorcerer's approach in the evening, one or two big, really important quarrels and rifts within the community, cases of illness, attempted cures and deaths, magical rites which had to be performed, all these I had not to pursue, fearful of missing them, but they took place under my very eyes, at my own doorstep, so to speak" (Malinowski 1922:8).

Hortense Powdermaker, a student of Malinowski's, also engaged in participant observation. She attended all mortuary rites in Lesu, even after such work became redundant and she had learned enough about such ceremonies. "The custom of being present and recording in my notebook had been established and if I did not follow it, the people involved would be offended and think that I did not regard the rite as important" (Powdermaker 1966:86-87). She also had to attend all feasts, the reasons for which were varied: "birth, bestowal of name on a newborn baby, appearance of his first tooth, early betrothal, first menstruation, initiation of boys, marriage, completion of any work, death, and practically every other event—small or big—in life" (Powdermaker 1966:110).

Powdermaker's involvement in the life of Lesu reached the point

when she joined a women's dance at an initiation ceremony attended by thousands of natives from all over the island and from nearby islands. This action greatly increased her standing in the community.

The extent to which an ethnologist "goes native" is a matter of personal preference. Frank Cushing, a pioneer anthropologist, dressed like a Zuni, not from free choice initially but because the governor of the pueblo confiscated his hat and shoes and forced Cushing to wear a headband and moccasins. Cushing even got his ears pierced and finally became a Bow Priest of the Zuni religion (Georges and Jones 1980:5-16).

On one occasion Napoleon Chagnon (1977:156-58), after letting his face and chest be painted in Yanomamö style, had hallucinogenic powder blown into his nostrils, and he then sang shamanic songs and danced about the village feeling a strong sense of power. Most anthropologists don't go quite that far in adjusting to the local culture; Chagnon did not usually do so either.

Although they may make good friends in the course of fieldwork, ethnologists never get to be altogether accepted by the local people as one of themselves. The field worker, moreover, remains conscious of occupying an outsider position as an anthropologist, a role to which he or she accords great importance. That, after all, is the reason for being in the field situation in the first place.

Projective Techniques

Fieldwork methods differ, depending on the interests and aims of the anthropologist. Anthropologists who are interested in the ways in which personality is influenced by culture often give projective tests such as the Rorschach Test or the Thematic Apperception Test. The Rorschach Test consists of ten bilaterally symmetrical inkblots that are always shown to test subjects in the same order. The subject is required to tell what he or she sees in the blots. Although the blots are objectively the same for all subjects, the responses given to them vary enormously. This shows that the person taking the test projects something into the blots, which is why the Rorschach is called a projective test. Analysis of the subject's responses provides clues to his or her personality organization.

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) consists of a series of pictures, for each of which the subject has to make up a story. Anthropologists have sometimes used modified TATs with pictures adapted to the local culture.

Some anthropologists have collected children's drawings or made analyses of doll play.

Team Research

So far we have dealt mainly with the work of individual field workers like Malinowski who have immersed themselves in a particular culture for a rather long period of time. Much work nowadays, however, is carried out by teams rather than by lone individuals. A field team can benefit from a division of labor, with different members specializing in different aspects of the local culture. Similarly, when something complicated is going on, such as a festival, different fields of observation can be assigned to different members.

When complex technology is introduced into fieldwork, it is helpful to have more team members. Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead made much successful use of motion-picture film in their fieldwork, particularly in Bali. They found it best to have at least two people collaborate during the course of filming, for while one person is busy with the camera, one or two others should be taking notes on what is going on (Bateson and Mead 1942:49–50). Although Napoleon Chagnon used a film camera himself, he invited Timothy Asch to join him in the field to specialize in this line of work, which resulted in a splendid documentation of Yanomamö life in over forty films (Chagnon 1974:260–66).

There are many advantages of film as a way of recording data. It is much easier and more vivid to convey what a dance is like on film than through description with notations. Postures and gestures are made more immediate to the viewer. Tape recording is also extremely useful, particularly in recording music and in recording native texts for later translation, but also in recording interviews. Best of all is a combination of motion picture and sound track, but many anthropologists have not been able to afford such expensive equipment and have had to rely primarily on their notebooks. Some early films made in the course of fieldwork have become classics, such as *Trance and Dance in Bali* by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. Some ethnographic films are of professional caliber, such as *The Hunters*, which follows a group of Kalahari Bushmen in their pursuit of a wounded giraffe.

Some projects have involved the work of interdisciplinary research teams. For example, the study of Niiike, described in *Village Japan*, involved the collaboration of three major authors, an anthropologist, a historian, and a political scientist, together with the occasional participation of many other social scientists, including geographers, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and linguists (Beardsley, Hall, and Ward 1959:ix). It says much for the patience of the people of Niiike (who numbered only 130) that this community was able to survive more than four years of field research. A hazard of modern team research is the overexposure of such a community to its field workers.

There is an old joke among anthropologists that a typical Navaho family consists of a husband, his wife and children, and an anthropologist.

Quantification

One result, or concomitant, of team research has been an increase in quantification. There has been more use, for example, of standardized questionnaires rather than informal interviews. This approach is illustrated by the large-scale Six Cultures project dealing with patterns of child rearing (described on page 197). The Six Cultures questionnaires can be given not only to many informants within a society but also cross-culturally in different societies. In each of the six cultures studied in this project, twenty-four mothers were interviewed about how they brought up their children. All of the mothers were asked the same questions (which had to be translated into different languages and which may therefore have had somewhat different overtones). Two field workers, one male and one female, did the interviewing in each culture. Each field team was also required to make observations on the behavior of children in the community. As with the questionnaires, attempts were made to bring about uniformity in the methods of observation, so that the results could be compared cross-culturally. Recommendations such as these were given to the six fieldwork teams: "If possible, the child's working day should be divided into hours and the record should be written in the form of a timetable, indicating where the child is, who is present, and what he is doing" (Whiting, Child, Lambert, et al. 1966:93). The field workers should then find the frequency with which certain situations were met with in typical settings. Twelve five-minute observations should be made on each child being studied. Finally, a protocol of the child's behavior in interaction with another should be drawn up and a record kept for each child.

As with the standardized questionnaires, the advantage of this rather rigid system is that it permits the use of quantified measures. The interviews with the mothers were subjected to factorial analysis (Minturn and Lambert 1964), while the observations on children's behavior were also quantified, enabling the six cultures to be compared with one another (Whiting and Whiting 1975).

Quantification can also be applied in what is termed the *case method*, in which an anthropologist examines a number of episodes of similar type, such as disputes, legal cases, cures, or instances of possession. Someone who knows the Navaho Indians well might remark that they are very religious or that they are interested in ceremonial life.

But a clearer impression of what this means can be found by actually counting the number of ceremonies performed in a Navaho community or attended by particular Navaho Indians within a particular time period. That is what Clyde Kluckhohn (1938) did over a six-month period in 1937. He also investigated how much money people spent in participating in ceremonies and how many ceremonies were performed by particular "singers." He found, for example, that during the six-month period one singer sang for eighty-one days in twenty-nine ceremonials and that another sang for eighty-two days in twenty-three ceremonials. Kluckhohn estimated that adult Navaho men devote one-fourth to one-third of their productive time to ceremonials and spend about 20 percent of annual family income on them. It would be interesting to have similar censuses made for other tribal groups so as to make comparisons of the relative importance of religion in different cultures. A. J. F. Köbben, who did fieldwork among the Djuka of Surinam, compared two Djuka villages: "In my village 20% of the adult population were mediums of some deity, on the Tapanahony river 37%. Even before my co-fieldworkers and I had collected these data it was already our impression that the Tapanahony people experienced their religion more intensely than the people of my region, but this was no more than an impression. . . . The difference indicated above we regard as a confirmation of our hypothesis" (Köbben 1967:52).

Oscar Lewis (1953:455) argued long ago that quantification should be of special importance in applied anthropology: "In working for administrators the question of 'How many?' becomes particularly pertinent. How many families own land, how many have adopted new practices, how many need medical care? Applied anthropology literally demands quantification."

Another sphere in which quantification has appeared is cross-cultural surveys based on the use of the Human Relations Area Files (see page 33). The usual aim of such cross-cultural surveys is to discover correlations between institutions in certain societies, in the expectation that this will help to explain the presence or absence of particular customs or practices. A prediction may be made, for example, that in societies where a mother and child sleep together during the first year or two of life (while the woman's husband sleeps elsewhere because of a taboo on sex relations), initiation ceremonies will be held at the time of puberty to psychologically wean the boys away from their mothers. One then looks to see, in a large sample of different cultural groups, whether mother-child sleeping arrangements have a positive correlation with initiation ceremonies at puberty, in contrast to societies where such childhood conditions are lacking (Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony 1958).

Restudies and Long-Term Research

There are many cases in which a particular community has been restudied several years after an earlier research study. For example, Oscar Lewis made a restudy of Tepoztlán, Mexico, seventeen years after Robert Redfield carried out fieldwork there.³ Margaret Mead (1930) and Reo Fortune (1935) both reported on 1928 fieldwork among the Manus of the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea. In 1953, twenty-five years after her first research there, Mead (1956) revisited the Manus. Some younger field workers also worked there in association with Mead (Schwartz 1962; Romanucci-Ross 1985). The main benefit of a restudy is that it makes possible an analysis of culture change. Other benefits are that it permits the reevaluation of an earlier study or the reexamination of some aspect of the culture that was not investigated sufficiently before (see Lewis 1954:467-68).

On a more continuing basis, culture change can also be studied in long-term research in the same area. There are by now several examples of long-term ethnological projects. One, involving the work of Alfonso Villa Rojas and others in the Maya area of Mexico, covered nearly fifty years. Another is the Harvard project in Chiapas, Mexico (1957-75). A third is a study of the hunting-gathering !Kung San (Bushman) in the Kalahari region of South Africa, directed by Irven De Vore and Richard B. Lee (1963-76). In this project a symposium of participants was held in 1966 to plan the second phase of research and another symposium was held in 1971. At such conferences participants in a project exchange ideas and discuss hypotheses concerning the people they are studying. It is possible in a long-term project to make predictions at an early stage and to find out later whether the predictions came true. "Villa Rojas had assumed initially that the sacred aspects of life in Chan Kom would give way to the secular. . . . Yet, 45 years later, just the opposite has happened, and sacred rites have taken on added meaning to the villagers" (Foster, Scudder, Colson, and Kemper 1979:329). The work just cited reviews fourteen long-term research projects. In such long-term fieldwork a seasoned anthropologist does not have to face the hazards confronted by a neophyte, discussed earlier. Fieldwork of this kind can provide a training ground for students in anthropology.

³ For a sociological parallel, see the Middletown publications by Lynd and Lynd (1929, 1937) and by Caplow et al. (1982).

Writing Up the Results

It is a standard tradition to write the results of field research in the “ethnographic present,” that is, to use the present tense with reference to the date of fieldwork.

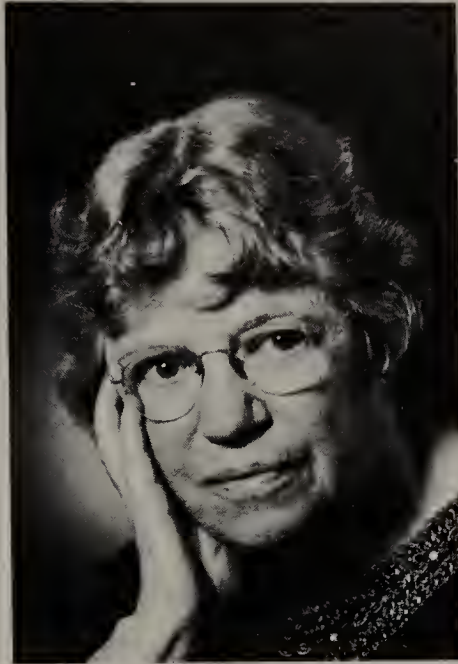
In a general ethnography the sequence of topics is often like that of the present work. After a general introduction there is a description of the local ecology, the geographical setting, and subsistence techniques. This may be followed by chapters on the family and kinship systems, including marital residence patterns. Then there are chapters on social and political organization, religion, and the arts, although the topics do not always appear in just that order.

Mead’s Report on Samoa

Studies that are problem oriented can ignore a framework such as the foregoing. One of the earliest and most popular problem-oriented works was Margaret Mead’s *Coming of Age in Samoa*, her first book, in which Mead asked this question: “Are the disturbances which vex our adolescents due to the nature of adolescence itself or to the civilization?” (1928:11). This is a question of nature versus nurture, or of biological versus cultural determinants. Adolescence is traditionally a time of “storm and stress” in the Western world. If biological factors are paramount in accounting for this turmoil, one would expect that to be true of all societies. Do adolescents have the same difficulties in Samoa that they have in the Western world?

Mead came to Samoa to answer that question, and she lived there for nine months, studying fifty girls in three neighboring villages. Her conclusion was that adolescence is not a trying period for Samoan girls, among whom there is a lack of deep feeling and who go through a series of casual premarital sexual affairs. Samoan life also lacks the requirement to choose between conflicting ideologies and occupational choices. Hence, there is no youthful emotional conflict or rebellion. So Mead concluded that the storm and stress of Western adolescence must be due to the complex culture and social institutions of the Western world and is not an inevitable consequence of human biology.

Coming of Age in Samoa was very well received; it was translated into sixteen languages and sold millions of copies. Although criticisms were sometimes made, no great challenge appeared to Mead’s conclusions until the publication in 1983 of Derek Freeman’s *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, which took issue with almost all of Mead’s findings. Freeman is an anthropologist who studied the Samoan language, lived in Samoa, and was given a chiefly title. He claims that virginity for girls was highly valued in Samoa, that premarital affairs were not as



Margaret Mead. *The American Museum of Natural History*

common as Mead asserted, and that adolescence in Samoa is a stormy period, not at all free of tension. Freeman accounts for Mead's alleged errors by saying that she came to Samoa with a mental set influenced by her teachers, Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. She was then a relatively untrained young woman, twenty-three years of age, whose mind about nature versus nurture had already been set on the nurture side before she arrived in Samoa.

Freeman's book has, in turn, received much criticism from anthropologists who support Mead (see Brady et al., 1983). Mead died before the book was published, so she could not reply to Freeman herself. We cannot go further into this controversy here, but it serves to draw attention to the subjective factors that may influence a field worker's perceptions in the field and the conclusions that finally appear in print. Every observer tends to impose some order and consistency upon what he or she observes, and this tendency is often given further scope in the final written report.

Conflicting Field Reports

There have been other notable examples of conflicting findings among anthropologists who worked in the same culture but evidently saw it with different eyes. Robert Redfield (1930) described the Mexican town of Tepoztlán as being a rather homogeneous and well-integrated folk society whose members were generally cooperative and contented,



Anthropologists who have worked in the Pueblo area of the American southwest have sometimes presented conflicting views of Pueblo life.
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while Oscar Lewis, who studied the same community seventeen years later, reported a quite different state of affairs: "Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in interpersonal relations" (1951:429).

Another example of conflicting findings is the different interpretations of Pueblo (Hopi and Zuni) society and culture. According to an analysis by John Bennett (1946), anthropologists who have worked among Pueblo Indians can be grouped into two camps: (1) those with an "organic" emphasis, who stress the unity and "logico-aesthetic integration" of Pueblo life, and (2) a "repressive" school, which emphasizes the underlying tension, anxiety, and suspicion in everyday life. Bennett notes that there are competent ethnographers in both camps. Here, again, different values and attitudes seem to have been brought to the field by the ethnologists involved. Consequently they see different things in the field situation and their published reports are sometimes in conflict. Some observers have suggested that the solution to this dilemma is more quantification, perhaps along the lines of the case method discussed earlier, but it should be remembered that there

are also different schools of thought among psychologists and sociologists, who have long been much greater quantifiers than anthropologists. Besides, the amount of tension, suspicion, and anxiety in a society would be hard to quantify. As far as the Pueblo Indians are concerned, members of both the organic and repressive schools may well have valid insights. The problem is how to integrate their seemingly discrepant pictures of Pueblo life.⁴

When a fieldwork project is problem oriented, it should try to meet scientific standards. This involves more than amassing positive evidence for a particular hypothesis. The hypothesis should also be falsifiable. "The greater the number of situations in which hypotheses have been exposed to falsification and survived the test, the greater the credibility of the theoretical model" (Pelto and Pelto 1978:35).

From this review of field research, it can be seen that there are various problems associated with the collection and writing up of data. Despite these difficulties, however, a great deal of valuable information has been brought back from the field by ethnologists, as I hope the rest of this book will demonstrate.

Summary

Fieldwork is a hallmark of ethnology, the main source of ethnological data, which come primarily from interviews and the observation of behavior. The field worker must be selective in recording information and cannot note down everything that goes on in the society under review. An ethnography, however, does try to describe a culture as a whole, while a problem-oriented study focuses on a particular aspect of the culture.

The field worker must explain his or her presence in the research community and must master the local language or else work with an interpreter. The field worker usually engages in the daily life of the community as a participant observer. He may initiate research by collecting a census, genealogies, and kinship terms, and he is likely to acquire some key informants who have proven to be reliable.

The field methods used depend upon the aims of the researcher. Psychological anthropologists, for example, may use projective techniques such as the Rorschach (inkblot) Test and modified forms of the Thematic Apperception Test.

⁴ For still another example of conflicting viewpoints in ethnological field work, see the reports on Manus acculturation in Mead (1956) and Romanucci-Ross (1985).

While fieldwork may be done by a single researcher, as in Malinowski's case, or by a husband-wife team, some field projects have been carried out by larger teams involving a division of labor, as in the making of films, and there have also been long-term projects involving the participation of many field workers, including some from disciplines other than anthropology. Such projects are likely to make use of quantified research methods, for example in case studies.

Despite the efforts of fieldworkers to be objective, their reports are not always in agreement, as was shown in the cases of Samoa, the Pueblo Indians, and Tepoztlán, Mexico. This indicates the need for caution and care in field research as well as the advisability of having more than one ethnologist or field team report on a particular area.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A readable account of the human aspects of fieldwork is Robert A. Georges and Michael O. Jones, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Highly recommended is Hortense Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), which describes the author's fieldwork in four different areas.

Anthropological field methods are discussed in Pertti J. Peltó and Gretel H. Peltó, *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), and in A. L. Epstein, ed., *The Craft of Social Anthropology* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967). See also D. G. Jongmans and P. C. W. Gutkind, eds., *Anthropologists in the Field* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1967); and George D. Spindler, ed. *Being an Anthropologist: Fieldwork in Eleven Cultures* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

Cases of long-term research are described in George M. Foster, Thayer Scudder, Elizabeth Colson, and Robert V. Kemper, eds., *Long Term Field Research in Social Anthropology* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

Female field workers face special problems in the course of their research. Twelve such women describe their experiences in Peggy Golde, ed., *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1970).

The use of photography in field research is discussed in John Collier Jr., *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).



Anthropological Linguistics

This chapter provides a brief survey of the field of anthropological linguistics. The survey is presented as part of an introduction to the broader field of ethnology, because it is language that makes possible the universe of shared understanding and behavior patterns that we call culture. It is also *part* of culture, being transmitted from one generation to the next through learning and imitation, as are other aspects of culture.

First, to get some perspective on our own complex system, let us briefly examine some aspects of communication in other animal species.

Animal Communication

All animals communicate in some way in various social contexts: in mating, aggressive behavior, relations between parents and offspring, group movements, and other situations. Language is a form of communication that is uniquely human insofar as we can tell. Although the apes share our “organs of speech,” as they are called, and although the apes make sounds with those organs, they do not have a language. But, like all the higher primates that live in social groups, they do communicate with one another. A special terminology has been developed for

discussing communication processes, whether they be linguistic or nonlinguistic. An *addresser* encodes a *message* in a particular *code* directed through a particular channel to an *addressee* who is able to *decode* the message. The *signal* that is originated by the addresser may be distorted en route by intrusive factors, called *noise*, which the addressee must screen out sufficiently to understand the message.

Research in animal communication has been of relatively recent origin, but scientists have already learned how to partially break the codes of several such systems. One of the best-known systems is the way in which bees direct other members of their hive to a source of food through a circular dance. In the process, information is conveyed through various channels, not only visual but also olfactory and auditory. The duration of a whirring sound produced by the dancing bee gives information about the distance of the nectar supply, and the odor of the nectar on its wings can be smelled by the worker bees, who thus get an idea of the nectar's quality. There seem to be "dialect" differences among bees. Austrian and Italian bees can interbreed and work together if placed in the same colony, but they misinterpret one another's signals and either fly too far or not far enough in search of food.

Primate Communication

Primates, even apart from humans, probably communicate more with one another than most animals do because of their year-round social life. Communication is involved in grooming, sexual interaction, play, and other activities carried out together.

Various channels of communication are used by the apes and monkeys. The tactile sense is important in juvenile play, in grooming, and in sexual and affectionate behavior. Sounds are produced not only by the vocal organs but also by other means, as in the chest thumping and ground slapping of the gorilla and in the tree drumming of the chimpanzee. Facial expressions, such as baring of teeth, and special postures also have communicative functions, as they do among ourselves.

The usual primate vocal repertoire of sounds seems to be limited, usually between ten and fifteen sound-signal types. Ground-dwelling primates are often very quiet. Baboons make few vocal sounds, although they give warning barks in time of danger and emit various grunts, roars, and growls on occasion. But they may also remain silent for many hours at a time. Gorillas, when undisturbed, are strong, silent types. Chimpanzees, of course, are noisier.

Since chimpanzees are intelligent, relatively sociable, easy to work with, and vocal, some attempts have been made by human beings to teach young chimpanzees to talk, including chimps raised in a human

Communication between a gorilla mother and child is effected through tactile contact, carrying, suckling, grooming, gestures, vocalizations, and facial expressions.

© George Kruse/
Jeroboam



household from an early age. These efforts have not been successful (see Hayes 1951).

There has been more success in teaching the deaf sign language in the case of a chimpanzee called Washoe, to whom a husband-wife team of psychologists, Allen and Beatrice Gardner (1969), have taught more than 150 signs.

During the past few years various other groups of investigators have been trying to establish symbolic communication with apes, with a fair amount of success, but recently this work has come under criticism by Herbert S. Terrace, Thomas A. Sebeok, and Donna Jean Umiker-Sebeok. Terrace acquired a young chimpanzee called Nim when Nim was only a week old and spent four years trying to communicate with Nim through sign language; but he finally decided that although Nim was able to learn 125 signs, he was incapable of grammatical competence or of constructing a sentence. Nim's speech did not become more complex as time went on, and his utterances showed no spontaneity. Eighty-eight percent of them were preceded by a teacher's utterance. In this respect, language development in children is quite different (Terrace 1979).

Sebeok and Umiker-Sebeok (1980) attribute what success has been attained in ape-human communication partly to the "Clever Hans effect" and partly to the investigator's will to believe. Clever Hans was a stallion exhibited around the turn of the century who seemed to be able to read and write and solve mathematical problems. His answers to questions were given by tapping a front hoof on a wooden board. A

In addition to the channels of communication that are available to a gorilla mother and child, a human mother and child also communicate through speech.
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psychologist named Otto Pfungst concluded that the horse's impressive results were obtained through his sensitive responses to the unconscious body movements and postures of his questioners. If nobody knew the answer to a problem, Clever Hans could not give it.

The researchers who have worked on symbolic communication with apes will probably respond to these criticisms of their work (as some have already done), but for the moment there seems to be more skepticism about such research than there was a few years ago. The basic question is whether the capacity to learn a language is a species-specific ability of humans made possible by a unique genetic endowment. Eric H. Lenneberg (1966, 1967) has argued that the basis for language capacity is probably transmitted genetically and that it is not simply due to an increase in intelligence or in the relative weight of the brain.

The Child's Acquisition of Language

The learning of language by a human child follows a very regular sequence of events. In the second six months of life, a child begins

learning words. By the age of three and a half to four years, it may be speaking 1,500 words and have an understanding of well over twice that number. But the child does not simply learn words; it also acquires a knowledge of syntax and learns to fit words into an appropriate sequence.

There is something amazingly intelligent and creative in the child's acquisition of language. Grown-ups do not deliberately teach children rules of grammar and generally do not even have a conscious knowledge of these rules. But the child somehow figures out what the rules are, as well as the phonetic system of the language. The child's ability to crack the adult linguistic code must be due to a patient and attentive effort to understand over a long period of time; "the most general rules are hypothesized first, and as time passes they are successively narrowed down by the addition of more precise rules applying to a more restricted set of sentences" (Moskowitz 1978:94). Moskowitz claims that the processes of language learning in children learning English and other European languages have also been observed in Russian, Chinese, and Zulu children. Children everywhere begin by speaking one-word sentences before they graduate to two-word sentences. (For some reason, there is no three-word stage.) When a child repeats its mother's sentences, it often leaves words out but retains the original word order. A careful study of the speech of two English-speaking children, aged twenty-seven months and eighteen months, showed that nouns and verbs were apt to be retained and, to a lesser degree, adjectives. The elements omitted included inflections, auxiliary verbs, articles, prepositions, and conjunctions (Brown and Bellugi 1966). This early form of speech has been called *telegraphic speech*.

If a child's acquisition of language is a remarkable phenomenon, even more mysterious is the question of how language originated among human beings in the first place. It must have developed from the limited repertoire of cries and calls characteristic of the other higher primates. But language is something very different and more complicated than that. Speculation as to how and when this crucial transformation took place has been inconclusive so far.

There are no "primitive" languages that could provide us with earlier stages of linguistic development. All modern languages, whether spoken by the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, or the peoples of Europe and the United States, are complex, subtle media of communication. All are capable of expansion and development and can incorporate terms for new things such as "automobile," "airplane," and "television," if such items are introduced to the speakers of the language. All languages are structured and contain phonemes, morphemes, and rules of syntax, to be discussed in the following section.

A language involves a semantic system, a phonological system, and

a syntactic system. Perhaps the most mysterious of these is the first, the semantic system, which has to do with the essence of language: communication of meaning. How has meaning come to be associated with particular words? In general, the association between words and things seems to be arbitrary. We use the term *horse*; the French say *cheval*, and the Germans *pferd*. It could hardly be argued that one of these terms is better or “closer to the original” than any of the others. It is true that there are onomatopoetic words like “twitter” and “moo” that seem to copy nature, but in most cases the relationship between word and meaning is arbitrary and conventional. Phonological and syntactic systems are dealt with in the field of descriptive linguistics, to which we turn next.

Descriptive Linguistics

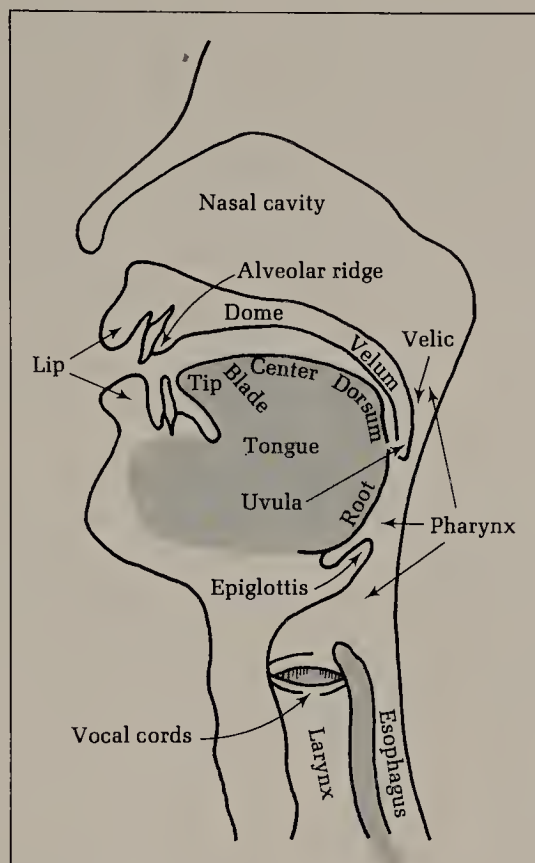
A basic branch of linguistics is *descriptive*, or *structural*, linguistics, which analyzes the components of language. It deals with a language as a synchronic system, at one period of time. Descriptive linguistics is concerned with both phonology and grammar. *Historical* linguistics deals with changes in languages over time.

In analyzing a language, the linguist breaks it down into its component phonemes and morphemes.

Phonemes

A *phoneme* is a minimal sound unit that serves to distinguish one word or syllable from another for the speakers of a particular language. The English words *pit* and *bit* sound somewhat alike; the initial consonants are both bilabial stops produced with the lips, but we can tell these words apart, as we can with *pin* and *bin*, *pig* and *big*, and so on. English *p* and *b* are separate phonemes. But we cannot assume that they will be separate phonemes in another language, for different languages may make use of different significant sounds.

The number of phonemes in any language is limited. English contains twenty-four consonants, nine vowels, three semivowels, and some other features, including pitches and stresses, giving a total of forty-six phonemes (Gleason 1955:50). Obviously the twenty-six standard letters of the English alphabet do not equate with the forty-six phonemes of English speech, although some of the letters do reliably signal phonemic sound values. This is true of *p b t d k g f v s z m n l r w y h*. Linguists have had to prepare phonetic alphabets to replace our traditional one, which is full of inconsistencies. We spell differently words that sound alike (*beat*, *beet*; *Beatle*, *beetle*), and we spell alike words that sound differently, as in the verb and noun for *lead*. Some of



Side view of oral cavity, showing palate, tongue, teeth, and other organs involved in producing speech sounds. From Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (New York: Macmillan, 1958) © 1958 by The Macmillan Company

our letters duplicate the work of others; *x* can be replaced by *ks* and *gz*, while the ambiguous *c* can be replaced by *k* (cat) and *s* (cent).

Linguists have devised new symbols or letters for some of our consonants, such as *ð* for *th* as in *then*, to be distinguished from *θ* for *th* as in *thin*, which is a different sound. Other symbols include: *č* for *ch* as in *chin*, *j* for the initial sound in *gin*; *ŋ* for the terminal sound in *sing*; *ʃ* for the *sh* sound in *shin*, and *ʒ* for the terminal sound in *rouge*. A system has also been developed for transcribing vowel sounds more consistently than is done in our alphabetic writing. This facilitates work in the recording, analysis, and comparison of the phonetic systems of different languages. Various schemes of phonetic transcription have been employed by linguists, but a commonly used one is the alphabet adopted by the International Phonetic Association, which makes use of the symbols given above.

There is variation in the pronunciation of the foregoing phonemes, not only on the part of different speakers but often by the same speaker as well. The *t* in *water* may be given slight emphasis in comparison to the *t* in *tin*. A *t* sound may be produced by application of the tongue tip to the ridge behind the upper gums, or it may be made with the tip of the tongue turned back, touching the palate further away from the front teeth. How the sound is made makes little difference in English,

as long as a recognizable *t* sound results, and we pay little attention to such variations. But it does make a difference in Hindi, where a back *t* (which may be represented as *t̪*) has a different phonemic significance from a front *t*. *Roti* “bread” is pronounced in this manner. Hindi also makes distinctions between front and back *d*, *k*, *n*, and *r*.

Different languages, then, may have different phonemes. English does not employ the German *ch* sound, which appears in *Buch* “book.” Yet English, German, and Hindi are all related languages belonging to the Indo-European language stock. Some African languages make use of suction sounds or clicks, which are not found in English, German, or Hindi. So there is great variation in the phonemic systems of the languages of the world.

Phonemes do not consist only of vowel and consonant sounds but also of different kinds of pitch and stress. The Japanese word *hana* means “nose” if both syllables have the same normal pitch, but it means “beginning” if there is higher pitch on the first syllable and “flower” if there is higher pitch on the second syllable. Differences in stress in English indicate the distinction between noun and verb in such words as *permit*, *pervert*, *conduct*, and *convict*.

Morphemes

While phonemes are significant units of sound, *morphemes* are significant units of meaning. A morpheme may be defined as the smallest unit that is grammatically significant. It may be a single syllable or phoneme, or it may consist of several syllables.

In the sentence “The dogs barked at the foolish clown,” the words *the*, *at*, and *clown* are irreducible morphemes; they cannot be meaningfully subdivided. But *dogs* has two morphemes: *dog* and *-s*; the latter indicates plurality. *Barked* consists of *bark* and *-ed*; the suffix indicates past tense. The *-ish* in *foolish* means to have the characteristics of a certain category; it is found in many adjectives, such as *mulish* and *boyish*. A morpheme that can stand alone, having meaning by itself, such as *dog* and *fool*, is said to be a *free morpheme*, while affixes like *-ed* and *-ish* that must be combined with a stem are said to be *bound morphemes*.

Languages differ in the extent to which words are inflected. In Chinese most words have one morpheme, while the Eskimo language makes use of many bound affixes, so that words may have ten or more morphemes. To the word *igdlo* “a house,” about eighty suffixes can be added. *Igdlorssuaq* means “He builds a large house.” There is one word for “When he bade him go to the place where the rather large house was to be built” (Birket-Smith 1959:62–63). Languages may thus be analyzed with regard to the processes by which words are constructed, the morphology of the grammar.

Syntax

Languages may also be analyzed with regard to the order in which morphemes are arranged and sentences constructed. This is the study of *syntax*. In English, *Dog bites man* is different from *Man bites dog*; here the word order is crucial. It does not matter in Latin, which has different inflected forms for nominative and accusative cases, making possible either *Canis hominem mordet* or *Hominem canis mordet*. Either way, the meaning is clear. Since Chinese lacks inflection, word order is most important in that language. While this is less true of Latin, word order is still of significance in Latin and in all known languages.

As a way of discovering syntactical regularities, linguists break utterances down into *immediate constituents*, or ICs, dividing up sentences and phrases into progressively smaller units, like boxes within boxes. *The dog bit the man* is thus divided into two ICs: *The dog* and *bit the man*. The break is justified by the fact that we could substitute other phrases for *The dog* (for example, *The lion bit the man*) without changing the second segment of the sentence; we could similarly change the second segment without altering the first (*The dog barked*). Each segment may then be subdivided into its own ICs, so that the first has *The* and *dog*, while the second has *bit* and *the man*, with the latter phrase breaking up into *the* and *man*. If we analyze enough sentences in this way, we may find out what the typical constructions are in a particular language. These, of course, vary in different languages. In some, verbs come at the ends of sentences. In French, adjectives usually follow nouns rather than preceding them as in English. Some languages have articles like English *the* and *a*, while others lack them. Some languages have gender distinctions, with which the device of *concord* is associated; that is, words linked with others must have certain requisite forms. Thus Latin *illa bella puella* “that pretty girl” or *puellarum bonarum* “of the good girls”; here the adjectives agree in gender, number, and case.

Gender categories do not always concern sex. In Cree there is a distinction between animate and inanimate categories, and other sets of distinctions are made in other languages.

Transformational Grammar

In 1957 Noam Chomsky, a linguist at MIT, published a book called *Syntactic Structures*, which has had a strong impact among linguists and has led to the formation of factions among them, including those for and against Chomsky's views. His work has been mainly in the field of syntax. He does not object to the procedures described above for analyzing syntax, but he holds that traditional grammars do not set

forth all the laws that govern the production of utterances. There is a system in the grammar of any language that a child, simply from hearing people speak, is able to learn. His implicit grasp of the principles underlying the language is known as his *competence*, while his actual speech expression is known as his *performance*. A person is not apt to be consciously aware of his linguistic competence; he speaks correctly without knowing why or how. Working with a small, finite number of phonemes, a much larger but still finite number of morphemes, and some rules of syntax, the speaker of a language is able to produce an endless number of sentences, many of which may never have been spoken before. Because of his (largely unconscious) competence, the speaker is able to creatively generate new and varied statements, which can be understood by others with similar competence. It should be possible to specify all the rules concerning utterances in a particular language that make such communication possible. According to Chomsky, however, traditional grammars do not do this.

Analyzing a language by means of the immediate constituent approach may give misleading results. For example, in the sentence "You can always tell a Harvard man, but you can't tell him much," the point of the joke lies in the ambiguity of the phrase "you can tell a Harvard man," which might mean either "You can identify a Harvard man" or "You can inform a Harvard man" (about something). IC analysis does not clarify such ambiguity. "The missionary was eaten" and "The missionary was drunk" have the same word order but carry different connotations. The first sentence is in the passive voice and could be restated in the active voice: "Someone ate the missionary." This is an example of what Chomsky calls a *transformation*. The same idea may be expressed in different ways by different grammatical means. Chomsky uses the terms *surface structure* and *deep structure*. The surface structure may be analyzed by the method of immediate constituents. To get to the deep structure, one may have to make transformations, as from the passive to the active voice. The deep structure, which expresses the meaning, is common to all languages. The transformational rules that convert deep to surface structure may differ from one language to another.

Chomsky believes that children are born with a capacity to learn language, although not any particular one. Languages differ greatly from one another, but a normal child can learn any natural language to which it is exposed. Languages, then, despite their differences, share some universal features, and Chomsky believes there is such a thing as universal grammar.

There has been much debate about these ideas. How useful is the concept of deep structure? Can't we get along without it? What does it mean to say that children have a language-learning capacity? It must

be so, in some sense, since they do learn to speak, but does this notion tell us anything new?

Chomsky believes that his views show up the weakness of empiricist ideas in philosophy and behaviorist concepts in psychology about the acquisition of language. The empiricist and behaviorist traditions hold that the mind of a newborn child is a blank slate that has no knowledge before experience. Knowledge comes from experience—from stimulus-response conditioning—and the association of ideas. Chomsky believes that the learning of language by children cannot adequately be explained along these lines. What the child hears spoken around him consists of fragmentary bits of language, often incorrect. The child learns to speak before his general intellectual faculties are developed. Besides, all children learn to speak, both the smart and the stupid ones. It cannot be, Chomsky asserts, that the mind is a blank slate at birth; the child's brain must be programmed for language-learning. These, at any rate, are some of the issues concerning transformational grammar, about which there is still a good deal of disagreement.

Historical Linguistics

In the late eighteenth century, it was discovered that Sanskrit, the language brought into India by the Aryans around 1500 B.C., was related to Greek and Latin and to the Romance and Germanic languages of Europe. This was shown by many correspondences in grammar and vocabulary. The term *Indo-European* was applied to this widespread linguistic stock. A school of comparative philology that developed in the nineteenth century devised some methods of analysis of these Indo-European languages; these methods could later be applied to linguistic stocks in other parts of the world.

The Comparative Method

Some examples of *cognate* words that have both phonemic and semantic correspondences in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin are shown in the accompanying table.

	<i>Father Sky God</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Foot</i>
Sanskrit	Dyaus pitar	avis	pat
Greek	Zeus pater	ouis	pous
Latin	Jupiter	ovis	pes

These correspondences give us more than purely linguistic information; they also tell us something about the culture of early Indo-Europeans, suggesting that they believed in a male sky god and kept sheep. We will come back to such cultural implications later, but first let us consider some purely linguistic features.

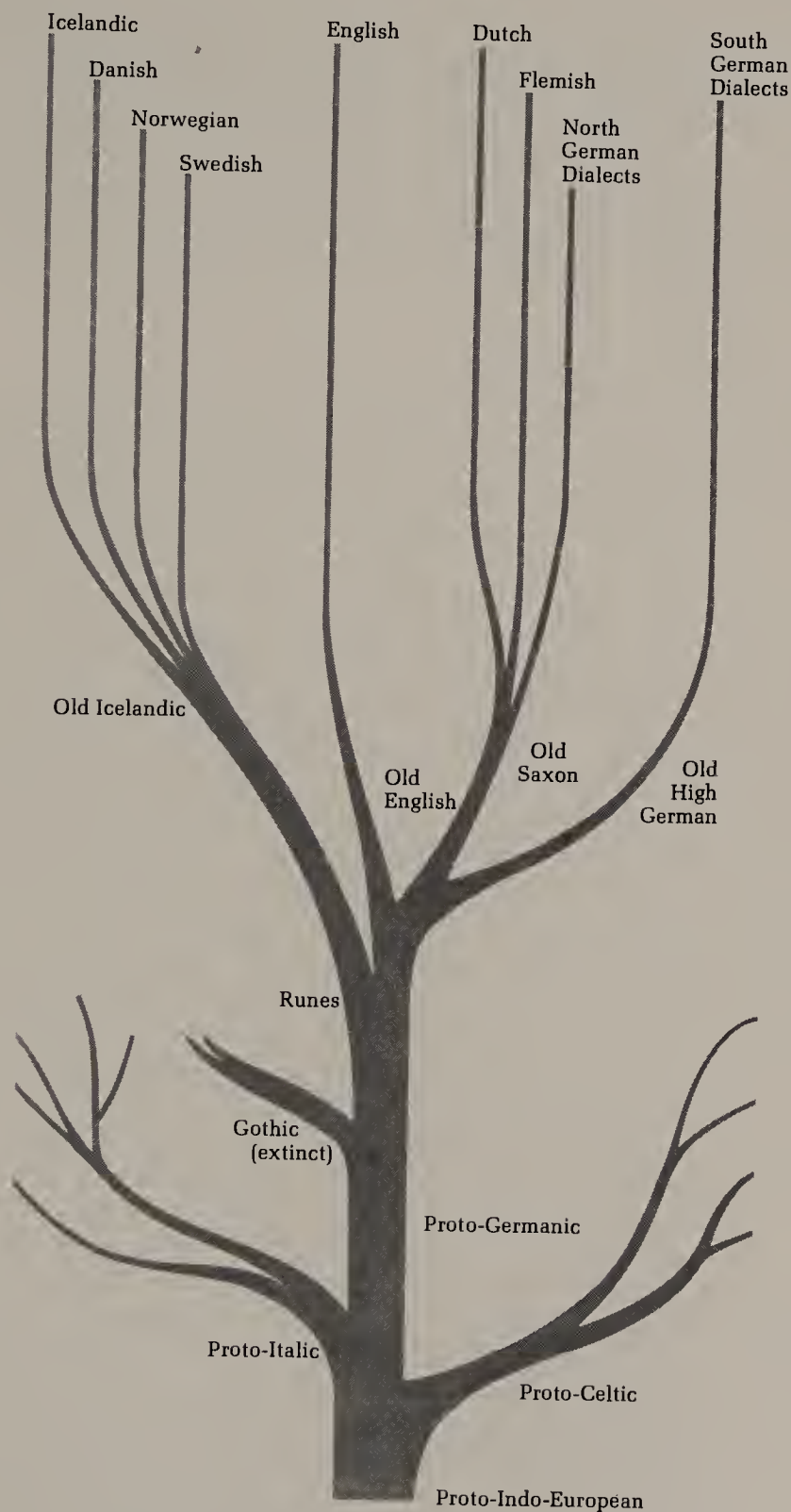
Notice that the words for *foot* and *father* begin with *p* in all three languages, while in German and English they start with *f*. Similarly, Latin *piscis* has become English *fish*. In the course of time, the initial Indo-European *p* in these and several other words became *f* in Germanic languages. This sound shift, along with several others, was first discovered by Jakob Grimm in 1822. The shift from *p* to *f* occurred long ago, judging from the earliest available texts in Germanic languages. For example, a sixth-century Gothic manuscript has *fadar* for *father*. An Old English ninth-century text has *feder*; in an Old Saxon ninth-century manuscript we have *fader*, and an Old High German text from the ninth century yields *fater*. From the comparative analysis of these cognate forms, it has been deduced that the primitive Germanic prototype form was *fader* (Bloomfield 1933:303).

Through the same kind of analysis, the probable forms of much earlier Proto-Indo-European words have been ferreted out, giving us some of the vocabulary of the earliest common stock from which later Indo-European languages developed. A knowledge of the direction of sound shifts facilitates such analysis.

Reconstructions from Linguistic Data

Scholars have tried to figure out, from the vocabularies of Indo-European languages, where the speakers of the early common stock were located. The noun and verb for *snow* are found so often in Indo-European languages that it seems unlikely that they came from India. Moreover, there are no Proto-Indo-European words for elephant, tiger, monkey, or fig tree. Nor are the speakers of Indo-European languages likely to have originated in Iran or the Mediterranean region, since there are no Proto-Indo-European words for camel, donkey, lion, olive, vine, or cypress. There are, however, words for some domesticated animals: dog, cattle, sheep, horse, pig, goat; and for many wild ones: wolf, bear, fox, stag, hare, mouse, snake, hedgehog, turtle, otter, beaver, salmon, eagle, falcon, owl, crane, thrush, goose, duck, fly, hornet, wasp, bee, louse, and flea. The fauna suggest a northerly area, which fits in with the words for plants and trees: barley, birch, beech, aspen, oak, yew, willow, fir, spruce, and alder.

Since turtles are not found in Scandinavia, that area can be ruled out. The homeland seems to have been south of the Baltic Sea. Salmon are found only in rivers that flow into the Baltic and North seas, including the Vistula, Oder, and Elbe. Hence, Paul Thieme (1964) has



Family tree of Germanic languages, showing how modern languages derive from Proto-Germanic, which in turn developed from the Proto-Indo-European of about 5000 B.C. From Charles F. Hockett, "The Origin of Speech." Copyright © 1960 by Scientific American, Inc. All rights reserved

concluded that the early Indo-European homeland area was in the domain of the salmon rivers and their tributaries, west of the "beech line" outside Scandinavia, south of the Baltic Sea.

Thieme's reconstruction sounds convincing and may be right, but it should be noted that some other scholars, reasoning along other lines, have located the homeland of the early Indo-Europeans in the steppes of southern Russia and the lands eastward to the Caspian Sea (Piggott 1950:248).

Lexicostatistics

Another way in which linguistics has probed into the past is through the method of *lexicostatistics*, sometimes known as *glottochronology*. This seeks to assign, through comparison of some terms of their basic vocabulary, an approximate date for the time of splitting of a parent language into two offshoots.

Although the distinction is often vague, the basic terms of a language may be distinguished from the nonbasic ones. It is assumed that all languages, whatever the associated technological level may be, contain words for some aspects of reality common to human experience, including certain parts of the body, natural objects, and geographical features. Languages also contain numerals, at least up to two or three, and they have words for colors and some categories of plants and animals. Basic terms are learned early in childhood and are in common, everyday use. Nonbasic terms may be replaced in the process of culture change and contact with other linguistic groups, but the basic vocabulary is more conservative. For example, despite the great amount of borrowing of the Normans from the French and other sources, much of the basic English vocabulary is still Saxon.

Let us say that the comparative method has shown that two languages are related, having diverged from a parent language. We find what words the two daughter languages have for one hundred or two hundred basic items. If the two languages have many cognate words, like English *man* and German *Mann*, we know that the split between them did not occur very long ago; but if they have very few such cognates, it may be concluded that the division was an ancient one. Calculation of the percentage of cognates provides a rough time index.

Morris Swadesh and some other linguists have argued that the rate of basic vocabulary loss is roughly the same in all languages. Support for this contention has come from more than a dozen studies of languages that have old written records, such as Greek, Latin, Old English, and Old Japanese, whose basic terms may be compared with those of their modern descendants. It has been objected that most of the languages thus studied have been European and that one cannot

assume that American Indian languages, let us say, follow the same pattern. However, similar results have been shown for Japanese, Kannada, and Arabic. More studies of this kind will help to show how consistent is the rate of loss of basic vocabulary in different linguistic stocks.

Meanwhile, on the basis of the comparisons already made, the rate of basic vocabulary retention has been calculated to be about 81 percent per one thousand years. Two daughter languages will not necessarily retain the same terms; it has been calculated that they will be most likely to have about 66 percent cognate items in the basic vocabulary after one thousand years. Assuming this to be a constant pattern, the method of lexicostatistics has been applied to pairs of related languages that have no written records in the attempt to find approximate dates for their divergences. This has often, although not always, found some support in nonlinguistic evidence, such as archaeological material.

The method is a promising addition to our techniques for investigating prehistory, but there are many problems in its application. One has been to find a satisfactory word list that could be universally applied. It would have to omit features that are not known to all peoples, such as ice, snow, palm tree, desert, and sea. Languages do not all categorize the known world in the same way, and paired items from different languages may sometimes not be comparable. Swadesh started with a list of two hundred words but could not find words in some languages for all the items listed, so he shortened the list to one hundred. As Hockett (1958:530) has observed, "The number of meanings for which a human language *must* have words seems amazingly small." The revised one-hundred word list includes such terms as *I, thou, we, this, that, many, one, two, big, long, small, woman, man, fish, bird, dog, tree, leaf, root, blood, bone, head, ear, eye, nose, drink, eat, see, hear, sun, moon, star, water, rain, fire, red, green, and yellow*.

In a discussion of the validity of the one-hundred word list, Dell Hymes concludes that it is useful, consistent, and valid in large measure but that the best possible list for the purpose has not yet been drawn up (Hymes 1960:12).

Although the application of lexicostatistics involves many problems, it has often provided results that have seemed convincing. Floyd Lounsbury found a 3,500- to 3,800-year divergence for Iroquois and Cherokee, which was a little shorter than his guess of about 4,000 years. It is known that the Navaho, an Athapaskan-speaking people, must have moved into the Southwest from the North, but the approximate date is uncertain. Most Athapaskan-speaking groups are found in northwestern Canada and Alaska and some on the Pacific Coast and in the Southwest. When the lexicostatistical method was applied to the

Navaho of Arizona and the Kutchin of Alaska, the result gave a date of divergence of about 850 years ago. What is needed in such cases is to find other converging lines of evidence.

Language and Cognition

Comparisons have sometimes been made between language and culture. Both establish “rules” about how things should be done, but these rules are not always followed in practice. One may speak ungrammatically if one wishes, although doing so sometimes defeats one’s own purpose in communicating. Both language and culture are restricting in some ways and liberating in others. Each provides a map, a book of rules, and a shared understanding with others; each provides the individual with a particular set of lenses through which to see reality.

All languages classify the objects of the surrounding world in some way, but there are many possible ways in which that may be done. Several nineteenth-century theorists who were intrigued to learn that some “primitive” peoples lack distinguishing terms for green and blue or blue and black concluded from this that such people must be deficient in color vision. But in 1877 an investigation of some Nubians, who use the same word for both blue and black, showed that they were able to sort out blue and black yarn and blue and black pieces of paper. They could clearly tell the difference, although their language did not assign different words to these colors. The color spectrum has continuous gradations, and there are many ways of dividing it up. The Navaho have a word that covers a range from green through blue to purple, while the Zuni have a term that includes both orange and yellow. Cultures differ in the numbers of colors differentiated. Our own language is rich in color terms, partly through the influence of the fashion business and traditions of the arts. The largest collection of English color terms has over three thousand entries, although only about eight color terms are commonly used. Some languages, on the other hand, have only three color terms, generally corresponding to our black, white, and red.

Folk Taxonomies

In all languages there are names for plants, animals, and other aspects of the environment, and different languages may have quite different ways of classifying these items.

Cognitive anthropologists use the phrase *semantic domain* to refer to a class of objects that share some characteristic feature or features that differentiate them from other domains. For example, furniture is a

domain that includes chairs, sofas, desks, and tables but not sandwiches or parakeets. Items of furniture can be classed in hierarchic fashion to form a *taxonomy*, so that tables, for example, may be subdivided into end tables, dining tables, and so on (Tyler 1969:7–8). Items in lower levels of this classification, such as end tables, are kinds of items in higher levels, such as tables and furniture. There are other kinds of semantic arrangements that do not follow a system of hierarchic ordering. Cognitive anthropologists investigate the principles of organization and classification in the languages they study. If the principles of classification in another language differ from those in our own, we cannot conclude, as some nineteenth-century writers did, that the language is inferior to ours. It is only recently that we have come to realize how complex some primitive classifications are. Claude Lévi-Strauss's work *The Savage Mind* documents this very well. With regard to plants, he writes (1966:5):

A single Seminol informant could identify two hundred and fifty species and varieties of plants (Sturtevant). Three hundred and fifty plants known to the Hopi Indians and more than five hundred to the Navaho have been recorded. The botanical vocabulary of the Subanun of the Southern Philippines greatly exceeds a hundred terms (Frake) and that of the Hanunóo approaches two thousand.

Lévi-Strauss (1966:5) quotes R. B. Fox to the effect that “most Negrito men can with ease enumerate the specific or descriptive names of at least four hundred and fifty plants, seventy-five birds, most of the snakes, fish, insects, and animals, and of even twenty species of ants.”

It is understandable that people dependent on plants and animals for food would label and distinguish them, but Lévi-Strauss makes the point that this interest in taxonomy is not only a practical matter. For example, Frank Speck, an authority on the Algonquian-speaking Indians of northeastern North America, states that these Indians have distinct terms for each genus of reptile in their area and some terms for particular species and varieties, although the Indians do not eat these animals or derive any other economic benefits from them. Intellectual curiosity and a need for order, as well as more practical purposes, must have sparked the human urge to classify the multifarious phenomena of nature in the varied languages of the world.

Can a language so structure perception as to instill a particular worldview among its habitual speakers? Edward Sapir, an American anthropologist and linguist, thought so. He wrote that “the ‘real’ world is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached” (Mandelbaum ed. 1949:162).

A student of Sapir's, Benjamin Lee Whorf, carried out this line of thought in an analysis of the Hopi language, focusing particularly on concepts of space and time, in which respects, according to Whorf, Hopi differs markedly from European languages. Whorf claimed that Hopi contains "no words, grammatical forms, constructions, or expressions that refer directly to what we call 'time,' or to past, present, or future, or to enduring or lasting, or to motion as kinematic rather than dynamic" (Carroll ed. 1956:57).

The implication, then, is that because of the nature of their language, the Hopi tend to regard time in a different way than do speakers of Indo-European languages. A similar point has been made about color perception: colors may be perceived differently by people of different linguistic stocks. For example, the language of the Zuni, another southwestern Pueblo tribe, does not have separate words for orange and yellow, as English does, but has one word that includes both. When color tests were given to monolingual Zuni subjects, they frequently confused orange and yellow, while English-speaking subjects never did, and bilingual Zuni fell in between the two monolingual groups in number of errors (Brown and Lenneberg 1954).

The studies by Whorf and by Brown and Lenneberg support a relativistic view of cultures, which are seen as having different worldviews structured by their languages. However, Harry Hoijer (1954:102-4) pointed out that peoples very similar in the rest of their culture sometimes speak wholly unrelated languages, while closely related languages are often spoken by peoples whose cultures are otherwise very different. Moreover, a single language like English is capable of expressing a great variety of worldviews. With regard to color perception, a study by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay offers a challenge to relativistic views. After investigating the naming of colors in ninety-eight languages from a number of unrelated language families, they conclude:

Although different languages encode in their vocabularies different *numbers* of basic color categories, a total universal inventory of exactly eleven basic color categories exists from which the eleven or fewer basic color terms of any given language are always drawn. The eleven basic color categories are *white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and grey*. (Berlin and Kay 1969:2)

Summary

All animals communicate in some way in mating, aggressive behavior, relations between parents and offspring, group movements, and other social contexts. Various channels of communication are used by our closest relatives, the apes, monkeys, and other primates—through the

tactile sense (in grooming and in sexual and affectionate behavior), sounds (calls, cries, chest thumping, tree drumming), baring of teeth and other facial expressions, and special postures. The primate vocal repertoire is usually limited to between about ten and fifteen sound-signal types.

Although we also use such channels of communication, we have added to them the unique symbolic communication of language that makes human culture possible. We can communicate about events and things not present or visible, including abstract concepts.

All languages are structured and contain phonemes, morphemes, and rules of syntax, features that are analyzed in the branch of linguistics known as *descriptive* or *structural linguistics*. Descriptive linguistics deals with languages as synchronic systems, at one period of time, in contrast to *historical linguistics*, which deals with changes in language over time.

Interest in the relationship between language and cognition has led to the development of a special field of research known as *cognitive anthropology* or *ethnoscience*. Its purpose is to uncover the taxonomic principles of particular languages. The investigator questions informants to find out what categories exist in their language. It is hoped that in this way the anthropological linguist acquires some sense of how the native speakers construe the world in which they live.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A classic work is Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933). See also Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (New York: Macmillan, 1958); and H. A. Gleason, Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* (New York: Henry Holt, 1955).

Good collections of readings are available in Dell Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); and in Eric H. Lenneberg, ed., *New Directions in the Study of Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966).

For Chomsky's views, see Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957); and *Chomsky: Selected Readings*, ed. J. P. B. Allen and Paul van Buren (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

For a thoughtful essay, see John Searle, "Chomsky's Revolution in Linguistics," *The New York Review of Books*, June 29, 1972, pp. 16-24.

Part Two

Environment, Technology, and Economy





Ecological Adaptations, Technology, and Means of Subsistence

Ecology is the study of the interrelationship of organisms and their environments, including both the physical environment and other living organisms. Human adaptation to the environment involves the sphere of culture, not only with regard to technology but also with regard to patterns of social organization that may facilitate or inhibit economic cooperation, community size, and the spacing of social units. Like other animals, human beings must adapt to their environments. Unlike most animals, however, humans also create new environments in which to live; this is also true of bees, ants, termites, beavers, and other creatures that have self-constructed dwellings. The artificial environments that humans have constructed have taken many forms, the most extraordinary being the modern megalopolis.

Being warm-blooded mammals equipped with cultural means of coping with nature, human beings have been able to adjust to a great variety of environments, including even polar lands. The food resources available in these different environments show great variation. One aspect of human adaptability has been the accommodation of our intestinal tract to a wide range of foods. We can be either vegetarians or carnivores, or both.

Human communities must cope not only with nature in all its manifestations but also with other human communities that appear within their living space. There are various solutions to such encounters: mutual avoidance, reciprocal exchange, trade, and warfare.

The population size of a community is influenced by the nature of the terrain and by the level of subsistence, type of technology, and population policy of its members. The last may include such features as female infanticide, birth-control practices, and postpartum sex taboos. If a group's adjustment to its environment is successful, population increase is apt to result, although it may be held in check by the population policies just mentioned and by diseases, epidemics, wars, and other disasters.

Human beings spread out across the earth in Upper Paleolithic times, arriving in Australia about forty thousand years ago and in Japan about twenty-four thousand years ago and moving before that into North America from Siberia through the Bering Strait land bridge. Human beings have lived long enough in different kinds of environments—tropical, temperate, and arctic—to have developed contrasting adaptive racial traits in skin color, hair form, and other characteristics. Contrasting cultural adaptations have also taken place in these varying environments. Let us now consider some of the kinds of environments in which human beings have lived and the different potentialities that these environments may have for the development of human culture.

Geographical Environments

Preston E. James (1959) has drawn up a classification of environments that some anthropologists have found useful. In James's scheme, which is based upon vegetation and surface features, there are eight general types: Dry Lands, Tropical Forest Lands, Mediterranean Scrub Forest Lands, Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, Grasslands, Boreal Forest Lands, Polar Lands, and Mountain Lands.

Dry Lands consist of the arid regions or deserts that occupy similar positions on all the continents, on the west coasts, roughly between twenty degrees and thirty degrees both north and south of the equator. Deserts occupy about 18 percent of the land surface of the earth but, due to shortage of water, hold only about 4 percent of the world's population. Completely waterless sections in deserts are unoccupied. Oasis regions in deserts, however, provide very favorable environments, permitting greater densities of population. The Nile Valley has more than 1,700 people per square mile. The Bronze Age civilizations of the Old World developed in such areas, in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley.

Tropical Forest Lands consist of tropical, semideciduous forests, rain forests, and scrub forests found in a belt within twenty degrees latitude on either side of the equator, generally extending toward the poles along the eastern sides of the continents. Tropical Forest Lands

vary greatly in population density. The Amazon-Orinoco Basin, which is the largest of the Tropical Forest Land areas, is very sparsely settled, but Java and other parts of Southeast Asia have some of the denser populations of the world. Tropical Forest Lands include about 15 percent of the world's land area and about 28 percent of the world's population. The tropical forests do not supply good food resources except for societies that have developed advanced techniques of food production. However, some advanced civilizations developed in Tropical Forest Lands regions, as in Cambodia, Indonesia, and the lowland Maya area.

Mediterranean Scrub Forest Lands include not only the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea but also areas with similar climates elsewhere in mid-latitude regions on the west coasts of continents between about thirty degrees and forty degrees north and south latitude. Parts of California, Chile, South Africa, and Australia are included in this classification.

These regions, which have mild, rainy winters and hot, dry summers, are usually hedged in between mountains and seacoast. They have broadleaf evergreen scrub forests; oaks and chestnuts are common. Only about 1 percent of the earth's land surface falls into this category, but it holds about 4 percent of the world's population.

Mediterranean Scrub Forest Lands are easy to live in for human beings at any level of culture. Many wild fruits and nuts and small game are available, and the weather is mild. California was densely populated by hunting-gathering tribes before the coming of Europeans. Early centers of civilization developed in Israel, Greece, and Italy. Evidently this kind of environment is very favorable for human occupation, although only a small percentage of the world's people inhabits such areas.

In contrast to the foregoing, 40 percent of the world's population live in Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, which make up 7 percent of the world's land area. This is an environment containing mixed broadleaf and coniferous forests, with plenty of rain and seasonal alternations of winter and summer. Areas near the sea may have relatively mild climates; those in the centers of continents have stronger seasonal ups and downs in temperature.

One region of the Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands embraces eastern North America, including Canada's Saint Lawrence Valley. Another includes most of Europe north of the Mediterranean zone and south of the boreal forests. Here the trees, climate, and other features have much in common with those of eastern North America. Most of China north of the tropical forests and south of the northern and western plains falls into the same category, as does much of Korea and Japan.

This kind of environment, although heavily populated now, was

Natural Vegetation of North America



Natural Vegetation of South America



sparsely settled in earlier times. Its occupation depended upon the development of adequate technology for cutting down the forest cover for agriculture and for keeping warm in cold winters.

Grasslands, which occupy zones between forests and deserts, have the advantage of containing much game for hunters, and they also lend themselves to occupation by pastoral nomadic or seminomadic herds-men. As in the Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, their occupation depends upon the introduction of advanced technology; they have only recently been invaded on a large scale in different parts of the world. Their present percentage of the world's population is still low, perhaps around 6 percent, although the Grasslands cover about 19 percent of the earth's surface.

Boreal Forest Lands stretch across the Northern Hemisphere north of the Mixed Forest Lands and Grasslands. This is an area of very cold winters and short, cool summers. Rainfall is sparse, but little evaporation takes place, and there are many lakes, rivers, and swamps. Boreal Forest Lands are found in large parts of Scandinavia, Siberia, Alaska, and Canada. They provide a difficult environment for humans at any level of culture. They cover 10 percent of the earth's land area but have only 1 percent of the world's population.

Polar Lands lie at the northern and southern axes of the earth, including glaciated regions, polar deserts, and tundras. Although flowers bloom during the summer, that season is too brief to allow the growth of food crops or forests. Wood is in short supply. The absence of vegetables forces the Eskimos who inhabit the northern Polar Lands to rely largely on animal food, in contrast to most other hunting-gathering people, for whom vegetable foods make up the bulk of the diet. Polar Lands are obviously a very difficult environment for human beings to cope with. They cover 16 percent of the earth's surface but hold only a handful of human beings.

Mountain Lands differ from the preceding categories in that they are distinguished, not by types of vegetation, but by surface configuration. Mountains have different types of vegetation and climate at different levels of altitude.

Mountains cover about 12 percent of the earth's land area and hold about 12 percent of its population. The suitability of mountains for occupation depends upon where they are located. Those in low or low-medium latitudes provide good opportunities for exploitation of the environment. Here wood and minerals are apt to be available.

Mountains have often served an important role as barriers. For example, the high barrier of the Himalayas has served to wall off India from the cultures of the north and east to a considerable degree. For this reason, mountain passes are important strategic points, trade and fighting units making their way through pass routes. Some of the other types of environments we have examined, such as deserts and



Terraced fields on mountain slopes, Nepal. Maintenance of these terraces, which hold precious soil, involves much hard work. *J. Allan Cash, Rapho/Photo Researchers*

tropical forests, may also serve as barriers, as do oceans and other large bodies of water in the absence of adequate means of navigation.

It is evident from the foregoing survey that some environments are more favorable for the development of culture than others. Much of the earth's surface is not suitable for human occupation. One of the astronauts who returned from the third Skylab space mission in 1974 remarked that, when seen from outer space, much of the earth looks bare and empty and that human beings are crowded into quite small areas on its surface.

The way in which a human group adapts to a particular environment is not determined by its geographical features alone but is also influenced by the technology characteristic of the group and by the way in which the group is organized to exploit the environment. To illustrate this point with a particular region, the American Southwest was first occupied by sparse nomadic hunting-gathering bands. Later, Pueblo Indians, such as the Hopi and Zuni, developed an agricultural way of life, living in permanent, closely packed communities. Still later, the Spaniards appeared on the scene with horses, guns, and metal tools. Each of these groups had its own particular equipment for coping with the environment and winning a livelihood from it. And the

present-day inhabitants of the same region, with electricity, air-conditioning, automobiles, and other modern conveniences, lead a way of life different from those of its earlier inhabitants.

Culture Areas

The Preston James classification just reviewed is made up of large general types of environments. Somewhat similar were the ten or so culture areas into which anthropologists Clark Wissler (1926) and A. L. Kroeber (1939) divided aboriginal North America. Both noted that different cultural configurations were associated with particular geographical regions and food resources, such as the Northwest Coast salmon area, the California wild-seeds area, and the Plains bison area. Neither Wissler nor Kroeber was a geographical or environmental determinist, but both saw environments as setting limits on cultural potentialities. Melville J. Herskovits (1962) also made use of the culture area concept in describing the cultures of Africa.

In practice, particular human groups often adjust to environmental settings that cannot be characterized as broadly as "grasslands" or "desert." Fredrik Barth (1956) has shown that three ethnic groups in the small state of Swat in northwestern Pakistan have adjusted to different ecological niches within that area. One group consists of sedentary agriculturists, another of nomadic herders, while a third combines both agriculture and pastoralism. Each group has an economic and political organization that helps it exploit its particular niche; sometimes there are also symbiotic relations between these groups.

Each human society, then, exploits a particular environment with a particular technological apparatus. Our early ancestors first lived in a tropical forest environment, later moving out into savannas, or tropical grasslands. About 700,000 years ago, humans explored Mediterranean Scrub Forests and the Mid-Latitude Mixed Forests of the Old World, having acquired fire and the use of tools, which helped them withstand the cold weather of the European forests and of northern China.

High centers of civilization developed from a Neolithic base in oasis regions within deserts, along the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, and Indus rivers. It is only in relatively recent times that humans moved into Polar Lands, unless it be said that the Polar Lands themselves moved down to engulf the Neanderthals in Europe. Polar Lands, Dry Lands, and Boreal Forest Lands are sparsely settled by human beings. But changes in technology permit the invasion of zones formerly unoccupied. The Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, which now hold two-fifths of the world's population, were formerly shunned by humans.

Culture Area Map of North America



From H. E. Driver
and W. C. Massey,
"Comparative Studies
of North American In-
dians," Transactions
of the American Phil-
osophical Society,
1957, pp. 165-456



Culture areas of Africa, indicated by heavy lines. Broken lines show political frontiers established under European colonial control. *From Melville J. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1962)*

New means of transportation serve to conquer barriers. Domestication of the camel helped humans cross deserts. The outrigger canoe enabled them to settle the islands of Polynesia. With airplanes we now cross mountain barriers and Polar Lands.

Means of Subsistence

In the course of cultural evolution, human beings have adopted a series of different strategies for getting food. Throughout most of prehistory, people depended on hunting and gathering for subsistence; some societies of this type still exist in marginal areas. About ten thousand years ago, human beings began to domesticate plants and animals in the Old World; at around the same time, plant domestication was also

taking place in the New World. The beginning of food production was a turning point in human cultural evolution in both hemispheres.

Food-producing societies can be divided into horticultural and agricultural societies. Horticulture is the earlier form of plant cultivation in which the main tool used is the digging stick. Horticultural societies can be divided into simple and advanced forms, the advanced horticultural societies having metal tools, such as hoes.

Agricultural societies have a still more advanced technology characterized by the use of plow and draft animals in the Old World, terracing and fertilization in pre-Columbian Peru, and irrigation and the use of *chinampas* (artificial islands with topsoil) in pre-Columbian Mexico (Goldschmidt 1959:193-209).

New means of distribution came about with the rise of cities and the division of labor; by this system many people neither hunt nor produce food but instead produce some commodity or perform some service that they exchange for food. In our present industrial world, people work for salaries and buy food, which is produced and sold for a profit by farmers and middlemen.

In this text we will consider four types of societies that appeared in evolutionary sequence: hunting-gathering, horticultural, agricultural, and industrial.¹ For each of these types of societies, we will consider the following questions: How is food obtained, and with what sort of technology? How are population size and density affected by this system? What is the composition of social groups engaged in food acquisition and production? How has the system affected the environment? What are the advantages and limitations of the system? In the chapter that follows, we will consider the related problem of how goods are distributed in different types of societies.

Hunting-Gathering Societies

Stone tools were used by hominids in North Africa, and perhaps elsewhere, two million years ago. It seems likely that these hominids also used tools of bone, horn, and wood. Early stone tools were choppers and hand axes, not hafted to handles.

The earliest evidence of human use of fire, dated at about 750,000 years ago, is from a cave in southern France. Charred hearths found in the caves of *Homo erectus* near Peking in China are dated at about 500,000 years ago. Early hunters probably used fire not only to cook meat but sometimes to drive animals as well. There is evidence that about 300,000 years ago elephants were trapped in bogs in northern

¹ Other subsistence bases also exist, such as fishing and pastoralism, but these tend to be combined with agricultural food production.

Australian aborigines had a simple hunting-gathering technology, making use of spear, spear-thrower, and boomerang but lacking bow and arrow. *The Photographic Library of Australia*



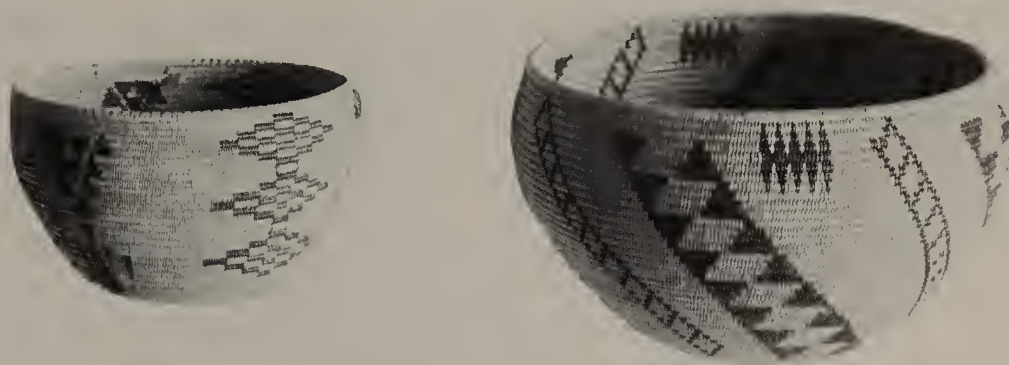
Spain by men who set fire to the surrounding grass (Howell 1964:85-99).

A great improvement in hunting technology came in the Upper Paleolithic period, from around 30,000 to 11,000 B.C. in Europe. First, there was a diversification of tool types, not only in stone tools, such as blades for knives and scrapers and burins for graving tools, but also new implements of bone, horn, and ivory. Most significant of all was the appearance of new composite tools consisting of different parts that were often made of different materials. Among such tools were the spear-thrower and the harpoon. The *spear-thrower*, a grooved board used for propelling a spear, gives the spear greater impetus than it would have if it were thrown by the unaided arm.

In Mesolithic times in Europe, between approximately 11,000 and 5000 B.C., various inventions connected with fishing were developed: hook, line, and sinker, fishing nets, and dugout canoes. Axes and adzes were hafted to handles. There are remains of Mesolithic sleds with wooden runners. Another important composite tool, the bow and arrow, was used in Europe during the Mesolithic period.

Some Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic hunting tools were employed

California baskets made by hunting-gathering Indians, who made watertight baskets in which food could be cooked by dropping in hot stones. *Milwaukee Public Museum*



in recent times by the Eskimos: harpoon, spear-thrower, bow and arrow, and fishing equipment. The Australian aborigines, who were hunting-gathering peoples when first encountered by Europeans, were less well equipped technologically. They did not have the bow and arrow, but they did use spears, spear-throwers, and boomerangs.

Hunting-gathering groups usually have a limited inventory of tools. They often move from place to place, and this makes it inconvenient to be burdened with possessions. Tools can often be made on the spot, when required. Traps are used by many hunting peoples, although there are some, such as the Vedda of Sri Lanka and the Chenchu of southern India, who did not have any traps or snares at all.

In hunting-gathering societies the main division of labor is between the sexes. The men do the hunting, while the women do most of the gathering, which often means digging for roots and tubers with sharp-pointed sticks called *digging sticks*. Such food, rather than meat, tends to make up the bulk of the diet in hunting-gathering societies. To collect seeds, nuts, or fruits, they need some sort of container. Bags, baskets, and nets are made in many such societies. The Australian aborigines have shallow bark or wooden traylike devices for carrying. The Indians of the Great Basin had skin bags for storing grass seeds. The Bushmen use ostrich eggshells for carrying water. In some hunting-gathering societies good basketry is made, the most impressive being that of the Indians of California, who were able to make watertight baskets in which food could be cooked by dropping in hot stones. Plains Indians used folded leather containers (parfleches) to carry food and other things. Some hunting-gathering peoples, including Eskimos, have used pottery containers, but pottery does not lend itself well to a nomadic way of life.

Since hunting peoples often deal with skins, they often use leather in clothing, tents, and boats. The buffalo hunters of the western Plains made great use of the buffalo's products, including its hide.

There is apt to be a relationship between the kinds of animals hunted and the social organization of hunting bands. Herding animals

can be hunted communally, while solitary animals, such as the moose, are best hunted by a single hunter. Buffalo were hunted collectively by Plains Indians like the Cheyenne, who had rules against individual bison hunting during the summer camp period. Summer was the time when all the Cheyenne bands assembled; during the winter season the different bands scattered to hunt in different regions. In summer the bands formed a large camp circle, and it was during this period that the buffalo were hunted communally.

Communal buffalo hunting was practiced ten thousand years ago in Colorado, judging from the remains in a ravine where 190 bison skulls were found. These bison belonged to a now-extinct species. Some anthropologists believe that many of the animals hunted in the New World at that time became extinct at least partly because of the efficient hunting techniques of the big-game hunters. Mammoth, mastodon, horse, camel, and ground sloth all disappeared. It has also been suggested that early hunters encouraged the spread of grasslands and drove back forests through brush fires that were either set off accidentally or were deliberately started in animal drives like those in northern Spain 300,000 years ago (Stewart 1956).

With the disappearance of many large game animals in the post-Pleistocene period, people had to find other means of subsistence. It was then that the subsistence strategy known as *broad-spectrum food exploitation* developed in different parts of the world. This designation refers to the practice of utilizing a great range of plant and animal resources within a limited geographical range. A characteristic feature of this subsistence strategy was the collection of wild seeds and grains. Particular implements were needed to reap such grains, such as the sickles that were used in the Near East, made of flint blades mounted on bone handles. Grinding stones were also needed to crush the seeds and grain. We find such implements distributed widely in both the Old World and the New.

Although bands that hunt herding animals like buffalo may become sizable, hunting societies usually do not maintain large year-round populations. Often there are seasonal splittings and later recombinations of bands, as occurred in both Plains and Woodland American Indian tribes. Among the Canadian Chippewa or Ojibwa there was a winter dispersal to take maximum advantage of food resources. It was the other way around among the Central Eskimo. Winter, when seals were hunted, was the social time for congregation in groups of 100 to 150 persons. In summer they split up into groups of between fifteen and thirty for fishing and hunting caribou.

The dry winter season is a time of congregation for South African Bushman groups, which sometimes number over one hundred. This coming-together involves more work and energy expenditure for the members. When they split up into smaller units of twenty or thirty,

An Alaskan Eskimo fishing for cod. The fish feed both his family and his dog team. Note the frost that has formed on his parka ruff. *Steve McCutcheon/Alaska Pictorial Service*



less work is demanded. The excitement of social life and initiation ceremonies makes congregation into larger units worthwhile for the members, and yet new stresses are placed upon them at these times, for it is then that quarrels and murders most often take place. The breakup into quieter, smaller units also has its psychological rewards (Lee 1972).

Environmental pressures serve to limit possible population size in hunting-gathering bands. Joseph B. Birdsell (1953) has made a survey of Australian aboriginal population distribution and has calculated the plant and animal resources available in different regions, the distribution of mean annual rainfall, and the population sizes of different tribes. He has concluded that statistically the size of an Australian tribe approximates five hundred persons, with an effective range of variation between two hundred and eight hundred. There is a high degree of correlation between rainfall and population density, which suggests to Birdsell that in this respect the Australian aborigines are subject to rigorous environmental determinism.

It used to be thought that hunting-gathering peoples were generally uncertain and anxious about the food supply, but more recent studies have shown that this is usually not the case. Two or three hours of work produce enough food for a day, although Eskimo hunters and fishers often spend much more time than that (see page 125). Marshall Sahlins (1972) has gone so far as to call hunting-gathering groups "the original affluent society," because of their easily satisfied needs and their abundant leisure. He claims that starvation is much more common in the world today than it was during the Stone Age. In recent times, at any rate, the hunting-gathering Chenchu of southern India

were probably more secure and better fed than many of the agricultural villagers of India: "To wake in the morning with no food in the house does not disturb him in the least. He proceeds leisurely to the jungle to collect roots and fruits, . . . returns to the village in the evening to share with his family all that he has brought home" (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1943:57). No food is stored; all is eaten right away, as is often the case among hunting-gathering peoples. Richard B. Lee, who made a study of subsistence patterns in a Bushman group in South Africa, reports that food is almost always consumed within the local group and within forty-eight hours of its collection (Lee 1966).

It might seem that a hunting-gathering system is insecure, vulnerable to the disappearance of game and other resources; but human beings lived under this system for more than two million years, and hunting-gathering is still a viable system in bleak marginal areas like the Kalahari Desert in South Africa. Within a particular region, however, the system may be threatened by population growth, requiring dispersal or the adoption of a broad-spectrum exploitation of food resources.

Mark N. Cohen has argued that population pressure must have forced hunting-gathering peoples to switch to food production. He points out that this switch took place almost simultaneously in both the Old World and the New. "Slightly more than 10,000 years ago, virtually all men lived on wild foods. By 2,000 years ago, the overwhelming majority of people lived by farming" (Cohen 1977:5). Cohen claims that knowledge about the properties of plants and seeds is common among hunting-gathering people. Hence, the switch to food production could easily have taken place at different times and places, when people were forced, through population pressure, to produce more food from a unit of space.

Horticultural Societies

An early and still widespread form of food production is swidden cultivation, or slash-and-burn horticulture. This process involves clearing a patch of land by burning forest, planting crops and tending them for a year or more, and then abandoning the plot to lie fallow so that its fertility may be restored and the land used again later. Swidden cultivation is usually done on a small scale, often with plots of an acre or less.

In simple horticultural societies, sowing and planting are done with a digging stick that is used to punch a hole in the earth through the ashes to plant seeds. In forest conditions, with short periods of cultivation, there are not apt to be many weeds. Hence, the main work involved is the initial clearing of the land. Not much time need be



Woman planting taro
with a digging stick
in New Hebrides. *Kal
Muller, Woodfin
Camp & Associates*

spent in preparing the soil, weeding, or manuring, as in more advanced forms of agriculture. Simple horticulturists, like hunters, can enjoy ample leisure time—another version of the original affluent society. Labor units need not be large when working the fields. A husband and wife can work together, or there can be other small working groups.

Clifford Geertz (1968:25) has written that an Indonesian swidden plot is not a field at all but a “miniaturized rain forest” having a heterogeneous variety of food-producing plants protected by a leafy cover, rather than a single crop in an open field. Roy A. Rappaport (1971:121) has similarly described the swidden fields of the Tsembaga of New Guinea. There, the plant species are not segregated or lined up in rows but develop at different layers of the plot: “taro and sweet potato tubers mature just below the surface; the cassava root lies

deeper, and yams are the deepest of all. A mat of sweet potato leaves covers the soil at ground level. The taro leaves project above this mat; the hibiscus, sugarcane and pitpit stand higher still."

In different parts of the world, horticulture has facilitated permanent residence, even though fields have to be periodically abandoned to lie fallow when they become worn out. The population density in horticultural societies tends to be low, with settlements usually having less than 250 people. There is a centrifugal tendency in the need to clear new land and occasionally shift residence. However, chieftainships and kingdoms developed in many advanced horticultural societies, as among the lowland Maya and in Cambodia, Indonesia, and the African kingdoms of Uganda and Dahomey (see pages 262-63).

A swidden system works well as long as there is plenty of forestland in relation to population; but as population grows, pressure on the land resources is increased. One solution to this problem is to shorten the fallow period, but this may require more preparation of the soil before sowing. Ester Boserup claims that this is why the hoe was introduced as an important agricultural tool (1965:24).

Advanced horticultural societies, then, have more efficient tools than simple horticultural societies, including hoes with separate handle and blade. Horticulture is still widely practiced in many parts of the world, in India, the Congo, the Amazon, and Oceania and among peasants in Mexico and Southeast Asia. It is clearly a viable system of food production; but, following Boserup's view, it is vulnerable to population increase, which leads to the reduction of the fallow period and the eventual adoption of intensive agriculture.

Agricultural Societies

As the period of fallow is reduced, with the increase of population, the introduction of a plow becomes useful in cutting through weed-infested, grassy soil, which may also require the help of fertilizer, such as manure, and the introduction of irrigation to remain productive. In the Old World, the plow and draft animals were introduced in Bronze Age times. The animal that pulled the plow could also provide fertilizer. In the New World, terracing and guano fertilizer were used in Peru, while *chinampas*, artificial islands with topsoil, were used in Mexico.

The agricultural societies having these innovations are associated with the advancement in culture known as *civilization*. The Bronze Age societies of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley in the Old World and the civilizations of the Inca of Peru and the Aztecs and Maya of Mexico had a complex of features in common: the development of a state and a ruling elite; urban life; population increase; monumental constructions and mass labor; class stratification; advances in



Women pounding millet into flour in Matourkou, Upper Volta. *United Nations*

knowledge, such as systems of writing and mathematics; division of labor; trade; and the development of a peasantry.

The peasant is the food producer in this system, having a dependent relationship to the city and the state. In this respect, he differs from the more independent tribesman. "We see peasants as a peripheral but essential part of civilization, producing the food that makes urban life possible, supporting (and subject to) the specialized classes of political and religious rulers and other members of the educated elite" (Foster 1967:6). The peasant differs from a modern farmer in being less of a businessman concerned with profit, although peasants are often known to be shrewd in their transactions. According to the Russian economist A. V. Chayanov, the fundamental characteristic of a peasant economy is that it is a family economy; peasant food production is a

family enterprise concerned with subsistence rather than profit and makes no use of hired labor. When the peasant switches to cash crops, employs hired labor, and seeks to expand through reinvestment, he ceases to be a peasant and becomes a farmer (Chayanov 1966; see also E. R. Wolf 1966).

In societies having irrigation, the agriculturists who draw upon the same water resources are brought into a necessary relationship with one another. In the Bronze Age civilizations, control over the hydraulic system was probably in the hands of a dominant elite group that was able to exact *corvée* labor (forced, unpaid labor) from the peasants, not only for work in the irrigation channels, but for other purposes as well. This, at least, is the thesis advanced by Karl A. Wittfogel (1957). He has also drawn attention to the rowlike arrangements of crops in an irrigation system, which may be contrasted with the description given earlier of the informal and heterogeneous New Guinea swidden plot. "Irrigation agriculture requires a rowlike arrangement of the seeds not only for crops such as corn and potatoes but also for cereals. Plants can be watered by ditches only if proper space for the distributing furrows is provided" (Wittfogel 1956:158). An orderly system of this kind involves more work than the earlier form of horticulture. The soil may be plowed or harrowed several times before being sown. However, the result is a very productive form of food production. Induced by population increase, according to Boserup (1965), intensive agriculture encourages still further increase and greater population density.

Agricultural Technology and Sources of Energy

Besides the plow, an important invention associated with agriculture in the Old World was the wheel, used in the peasant's cart and also the potter's wheel of Bronze Age times. Another early application of this invention, in the first millennium B.C., was the water-raising wheel, a vertical wheel equipped with buckets or pots that lifted water for irrigation purposes. Still another application of this basic invention was the spinning wheel. The useful potentialities of the wheel were not discovered in the New World, although small wheeled objects, evidently used as toys, have been found in Mexico.

Another important feature of advanced agriculture in the Old World was the exploitation of animal energy, which began in Neolithic times. The use of animal energy was not limited to plowing, threshing, and pulling carts. Many peasants and farmers make use of it in drawing water for irrigation, with camels, oxen, or donkeys going round and round or back and forth on an inclined plane. Sometime after 200 B.C. oxen were used to provide the power for water-raising wheels by



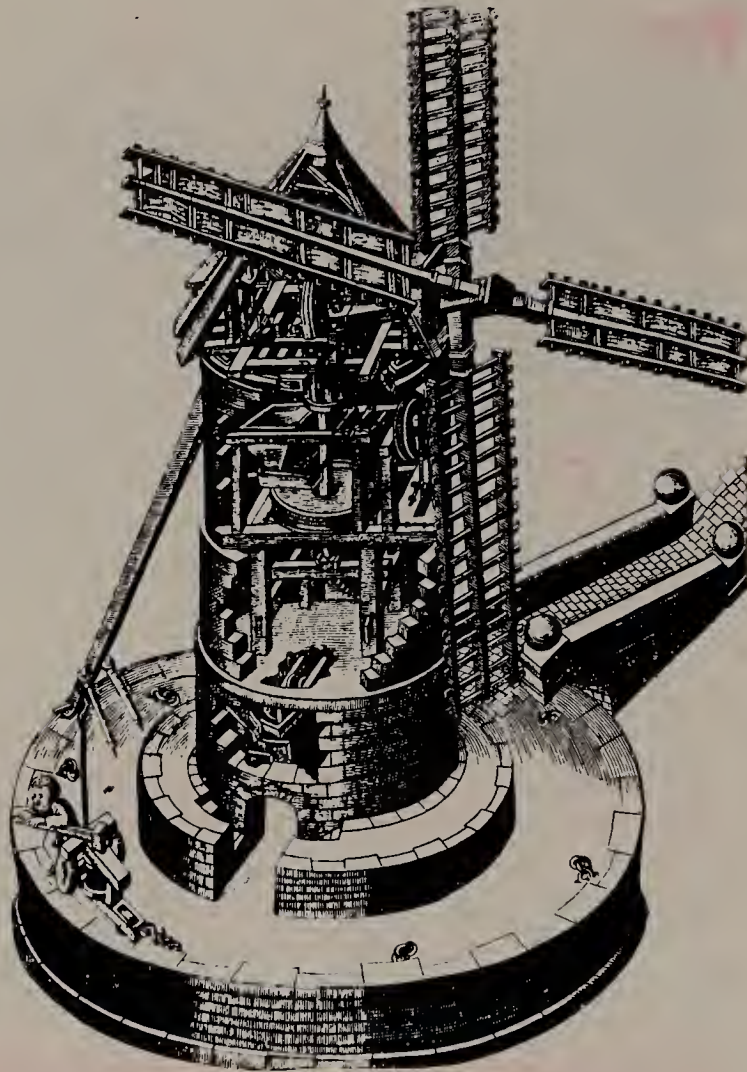
Chinese farmer plowing with water buffalo. *Stock, Boston*

walking round and round a vertical shaft. Donkeys were similarly employed even earlier to keep rotary querns or mills in operation.²

Power was also derived from wind and water in the Old World. Windmills and waterwheels were used for irrigation and the grinding of grain. Windmills proliferated in Holland in the sixteenth century A.D. and thereafter, since the Low Countries are flat and their streams are too sluggish to provide good waterpower. But windmills were also used in France and in Spain, where Don Quixote tilted against them. Their main function was to grind grain, but they were also used for sawing wood and raising water.

In Roman times the waterwheel was used only for grinding grain, but from the eleventh century on it was also used for fulling cloth, making pulp for paper, raising water for irrigation, and other purposes. Waterwheels were not used much in Roman times, since the availability of slaves (an alternative source of power) made the labor-saving advantages of inanimate power unnecessary; there was large-scale unemployment in the Roman Empire, and laborsaving machinery would only have added to the difficulty. But during the Middle

² A significant improvement in the exploitation of animal power was the invention of the modern harness, which replaced the less efficient form known to the Romans. The improved harness appeared first in China between the third and seventh centuries A.D. and in Europe from the ninth century on. At about the same time, the practice of shoeing horses was introduced in Europe. These two improvements greatly increased the utility of horses and led to their replacing oxen in agricultural work in Europe.



Corn-grinding tower mill, from a sixteenth-century drawing. From Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams (eds.), *A History of Technology*, Vol. III, *From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957)

Ages, when the institution of slavery had declined, the advantages of waterwheels and windmills could be appreciated, and they came into their own. Thus, under advanced agriculture, much more energy became available to the food producer than was possible under previous systems.

Types of Peasant Communities

Peasant communities have assumed many forms in different parts of the world, and various ways of classifying subtypes have been suggested. Eric Wolf has made a distinction between closed corporate peasant communities and open peasant communities. Membership in a closed corporate community is restricted to people born and raised within it, and marriages usually take place within the community.

There is corporate control over the land, which may not be sold to outsiders. Leveling mechanisms often exist to equalize conditions within the community, such as periodic reallocations of land. Open peasant communities are more involved in cash crops and marketing and the national culture. There is no communal jurisdiction over land in the open communities. In Latin America, closed corporate communities are found in marginal highland areas, while open communities are located in the lowlands. The corporate communities make use of a traditional technology and tend to be poor. Wolf finds that closed corporate societies with features like those of Latin America are also found in central Java. While closed corporate peasant communities may be seen as traditional holdovers, they also represent self-protective reactions to outside pressure in colonial regions (E. R. Wolf 1955, 1957, 1966).

Patterns of exchange labor not involving money payments are common among peasants. Charles J. Erasmus (1956) has described two types: festive labor and exchange labor. The former type involves feasting a work crew assembled for a task, such as house building or harvesting, with perhaps more than ten workers, or even more than one hundred. Exchange labor is a simple matter of reciprocal exchange. A agrees to work for B, expecting that B will later work a roughly similar amount for him. Exchange labor involves smaller work gangs than festive labor, seldom more than ten men. These patterns are not so popular as they once were, for the acquisition of farm machinery such as threshing machines obviates some of the need for collective work, while rising food prices tend to make wage labor cheaper than festive labor.

Like horticulture, intensive agriculture has sometimes had deleterious effects on the environment, particularly in the destruction of forests because of population increase, the need for more fields, and demands for timber for house construction, fuel, and other purposes. The heavily populated Indo-Gangetic plain in northern India and Pakistan was once forested but is now relatively bare of trees. The same sort of deforestation occurred in ancient China and was responsible for the annual floods that have plagued northern China ever since. Parts of North Africa that supplied the ancient Romans with grain have become desiccated and semidesert. Central Italy itself lost its forests, which resulted in flooding, as in China.

Industrial Societies

Industrial societies with factory production are consequences of the Industrial Revolution, which developed in England during the last

third of the eighteenth century. This was partly the result of tapping a new source of energy.

Waterpower was used in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution in England to provide the energy for cotton mills. This meant that these factories were not located in towns or cities but beside streams near hills in narrow valleys.

The disadvantage of the waterwheel was that it had to be located by a stream. In eighteenth-century England there was a search for new sources of power, largely to find ways of pumping water out of the deep coal mines that were then being exploited. Several attempts to build a workable steam engine were made before James Watt produced an improved model. This engine was used not only in the mines but later in railways and steamboats as well. Now factories could be built away from streams and near coal mines and also near the cities where a labor force and markets were available. Lewis Mumford (1934:161-62) has discussed some of the sociological consequences of this change:

Wind and water were free; but coal was expensive and the steam engine itself was a costly investment; so, too, were the machines that it turned. Twenty-four-hour operations, which characterized the mine and the blast furnace, now came into other industries which had hitherto respected the limitations of day and night.

The working day was often lengthened to sixteen hours.

Manning Nash (1966:23) has written that in primitive and peasant societies, the

social organization carrying out the making of goods or the tendering of services is dependent on and derived from other sets of social relations. Peasant and primitive societies do not have organizations whose only tasks are those of production, and there are no durable social units based solely on productive activities.

A peasant family household may be a unit of economic production. In the cottage industry of eighteenth-century Yorkshire, woolen goods were sometimes produced by family units. Paul Mantoux (1961:58) writes: "If the weaver's family was large enough it did everything, its members dividing all the minor operations amongst themselves—the wife and daughters at the spinning wheel, the boys carding the wool, while the man worked the shuttle." Here the workshop was the home and the weaver owned both the means of production and the raw material he prepared.

But during the same period in England the factory system was changing the social organization of production. One consequence was a great increase in the size of the work force. This was not a completely new development. There was a shield factory during the period of the Roman Empire that employed 120 slaves. In the early sixteenth century, the weaving establishment of John Winchcombe, known as Jack

of Newbury, was reported to have hired as many as six hundred workers, although this may have been an exaggeration. But the first great increase in the size of industrial plants and labor force took place at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when power-driven machinery was applied on a large scale. This machinery was complicated and expensive; since it was worked from one power station, it had to be located in one main building. Such a factory represented a capital of several thousand pounds, and some industrialists owned several of them. In 1802 Peel employed more than fifteen thousand persons in the cotton industry. All of this meant that some men had to be able to amass large sums of capital. In investing so much money, they had to be confident of making a profit. Much larger, more distant markets had to be found than the local markets that had absorbed the products of previous means of production. Moreover, continuous supplies of raw materials had to be bought to feed into the machines, which were kept working from twelve to fourteen or more hours a day. This involved a commercial as well as an industrial revolution. Karl Polanyi has referred to it as "the great transformation."

For the merchant this means that all factors involved must be on sale, that is, they must be available in the needed quantities to anybody who is prepared to pay for them. Unless this condition is fulfilled, production with the help of specialized machines is too risky to be undertaken both from the point of view of the merchant who stakes his money and of the community as a whole which comes to depend upon continuous production for incomes, employment, and provisions. . . . for the motive of subsistence that of gain must be substituted. (Polanyi 1957:41)

An essential feature of this market system is that it is self-regulating, responsive to laws of supply and demand. Everyone in this system gets a livelihood from selling something; laborers sell their labor; landowners, their land or its produce; and farm and factory owners, their products. A new science, economics, developed as this market system expanded; it was geared to the analysis of this system, concerned with the forces that determine prices in a market economy.

The industrial system, born in the eighteenth century, grew rapidly in the nineteenth. It received further impetus from the development of electricity as a source of power.

The principle of the dynamo was discovered by Michael Faraday in 1831; generators were well developed by 1882. The new discoveries were first applied to lighting, but soon their application was extended to other fields, such as electric railways and power for factories. Although an electric fan was invented in 1889 and vacuum cleaners were sold in small quantities from around the turn of the century, Samuel Lilley (1966:123) writes that "electric power made no serious impact on the domestic scene till after 1918." The recency of the use of electricity is thus rather astonishing.

Electricity can be developed by energy from many sources, including coal, waterfalls, tides, and windmills. It is easy to transmit and is readily convertible into various forms—in motors, lamps, X-ray tubes, and so forth. Because of the development of electricity, industry is no longer dependent on the coal mine as a source of power; electricity thus facilitates some decentralization of population.

Today, the scale of some industrial organizations is enormous. In 1978, for example, General Motors had over 700,000 employees and over 1.3 million stockholders.

Not only has the labor force grown vastly in modern corporations, but it has become differentiated into all kinds of subdivisions. A large American corporation today has many stockholders, most of whom have no other connection with its business than owning a few shares. It has a board of directors, a president, an executive committee, and a finance committee. It is apt to have a sales division with an advertising staff, market analysts, and accountants; a manufacturing division with many further subdivisions; and auxiliary departments concerned with research, employee relations, legal advice, and so on. Below all these comes the army of employees who operate the machines, supervise others, and turn out the product, whatever it is.

These people have nothing to do with food production and have to buy the food they eat. The farmers who provide it are businesspeople rather than peasants and would not produce such food if there were no profit in it for them.

Agribusiness

Like industry, agriculture has grown in scale and has benefited from technological development. By 1963 the top 3 percent of America's farms produced more than did the bottom 78 percent and had acquired nearly half the farmland, with average-sized holdings of over four thousand acres, more than six square miles apiece. The productivity of such large units is made possible by mechanization. Between 1917 and 1960 the number of tractors increased from 51,000 to nearly five million, while the numbers of horses and mules on American farms dropped from almost twenty-seven million to 3 million (Higbee 1963:3, 10). Big farms hire airplanes to spread fertilizer and pesticides on their fields. Modern agriculture makes abundant use of nitrogen fertilizers, which are an important source of pollution of American lakes and streams.

The machinery and equipment needed to run big farms are expensive. Hence, *agribusiness*, as it has been called, may have stockholders and management organization (Roy 1967). Canning, refrigeration, and transportation are also involved in food production. There is much regional specialization; lettuce comes from California, wheat from the



A large modern rice farm in the United States.

© MCMLXXXIV
Peter Menzel

Dakotas, cheese from Wisconsin. On a family's breakfast table there may be orange juice from California or Florida, bacon and corn products from Iowa, sugar from Louisiana, and coffee from Brazil. So the family's food costs represent not only payment to the farmer but also costs for food processing, storage, transportation, and marketing. We are a long way from the hunting-gathering system of direct contact with the foods we eat.

The way in which food progresses from producer to consumer in this system is so complicated that it seems vulnerable to dislocation at any of the various steps between farm and supermarket. Another problem is that one needs money or food stamps to buy food, and when unemployment increases and food prices go up, many poor people are in trouble. A striking and hopeful aspect of the system, however, is that so few farmers are able to produce so much food for the predominantly nonfarming population.

Summary

The study of the adaptations of organisms to their environment is known as *ecology*. Mankind's adaptation involves the sphere of culture, which includes not only technology but also patterns of social organization that may facilitate or inhibit economic cooperation, community size, and the spacing of social units.

Some environments have been more favorable to human cultural

development than others. Seen from outer space, many areas of the earth do not seem to be suitable for human occupation. But technological development may make such areas habitable. Eight general types of geographical environments may be distinguished: Dry Lands, Tropical Forest Lands, Mediterranean Scrub Forest Lands, Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, Grasslands, Boreal Forest Lands, Polar Lands, and Mountain Lands. Forty percent of the world's population now lives in Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands, although these make up only 7 percent of the world's land area and were occupied in relatively recent times. The different geographical environments offer different resources and pose different problems for the people who inhabit them.

Four general types of economic systems may be distinguished: hunting-gathering, horticultural, agricultural, and industrial. Hunting-gathering groups usually have a limited inventory of tools, since they often move from place to place, although there are some exceptions to this generalization. In hunting-gathering societies the main division of labor is between the sexes, with men doing the hunting and women being occupied with gathering, cooking, child rearing, and other tasks. The nature of the social organization may be influenced by the kinds of animals hunted. Herding animals such as buffalo can be hunted communally, while moose are best pursued by single hunters. There is a tendency for hunting groups to have alternate periods of segregation and reassemblage, depending on the possibilities of the food supply.

Horticultural societies vary in size and in the degree of their political centralization. Labor units may be small in simple horticultural societies.

In agricultural societies, which depend upon the use of the plow, irrigation, and other techniques to increase food production, the peasant, and later the farmer, is the cultivator. Peasants are agriculturists who are connected with a state or city life but may engage mainly in subsistence farming on a family basis and do not hire labor or specialize in cash crops.

In the Old World, at the level of civilization various technological devices to tap sources of energy were developed, such as the water-wheel and the windmill.

Industrial societies with factory production resulted from the development of the Industrial Revolution in England during the last third of the eighteenth century. New sources of power were steam and, later, electricity, both of which permitted a lengthening of the working day. There was a change in the social organization of production, which was no longer based on the family unit or a labor-exchange group but involved a much larger work force. The Industrial Revolution was

accompanied and spurred by a commercial revolution involving a self-regulating market system, responsive to laws of supply and demand.

Suggestions for Further Reading

On the subject of ecology, see June Helm, "The Ecological Approach in Anthropology," *American Journal of Sociology* 67 (1962): 630-39; and Andrew P. Vayda and Roy A. Rappaport, "Ecology: Cultural and Noncultural," in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Methods of the Science of Man*, ed. James A. Clifton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 476-97. Two collections of readings can be recommended: Jack B. Bresler, ed., *Human Ecology: A Collection of Readings* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1966); and Andrew P. Vayda, ed., *Environment and Cultural Behavior: Ecological Studies in Cultural Anthropology* (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1969).

Two groundbreaking works are C. Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy, and Society* (London: Methuen, 1949); and Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), especially chapters 2, 6, 10, 11, and 12.

For geographical environments, see Preston E. James, with the collaboration of Hibberd V. B. Kline, Jr., *A Geography of Man*, 2d ed. (Boston: Ginn, 1959).

For a concise discussion of human ecology, see Richard A. Watson and Patty Jo Watson, *Man and Nature: An Anthropological Essay in Human Ecology* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969).

For the human hunting-gathering stage, see Richard B. Lee and Irven De Vore, eds., *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1968). For the transition from hunting-gathering to agriculture, see Mark N. Cohen, *The Food Crisis in Prehistory: Overpopulation and the Origins of Agriculture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977).

For a detailed discussion of the ecology of a particular horticultural tribe in New Guinea, see Roy A. Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967).

An explanation for the shift to intensive agriculture is provided by Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1965).

For a concise analysis of peasant societies, see Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966). See also Jack M. Potter, May N. Diaz, and George M. Foster, *Peasant Society: A Reader* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967).

Two books that deal not only with technology but also with some of its sociological aspects are Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934); and Samuel Lilley, *Men, Machines, and History: The Story of Tools and Machines in Relation to Social Progress*, rev. ed. (New York:

International Publishers, 1966). See also Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

For a more detailed work on technology per se, see Abbott Payson Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954).

The consequences of the commercial revolution that accompanied the Industrial Revolution are set forth in Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957). For the consequences of the introduction of the new system into the world's colonial areas, see Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).



Exchange and Distribution

Goods are not only produced in every society; they must also be distributed in some way, and there are various ways in which that may be done. Let us take the example of a factory worker in our society. Having cashed a paycheck, he hands some money over to his wife, who goes to the supermarket or grocery store to buy food. But the members of her family do not have to pay her for her labor and skill in preparing meals. Not all transactions, then, are money transactions. We are also familiar with the custom of gift giving, such as occurs at Christmastime. Much of this, again, is within the family.

The significance for us here of such nonmonetary exchanges is that factories, money, and markets are relatively recent institutions; before money and markets came into being, goods and services had to be exchanged in some other way. The exchange of gifts may give us a clue to one form of precapitalistic distribution.

Reciprocity

The donation of a gift places the recipient under an obligation. He may not actually want to have the present, but it would be difficult for him to refuse, for in that case the insulted donor might become his enemy. To give and receive gifts is an age-old way of maintaining peace and friendship. The recipient is not only more or less obliged to receive the



Floating market scene
in Thailand. Victor
Barnouw

present, but sooner or later he is obligated to return it with a gift of about equal value. This is known as *reciprocity*. (These generalizations do not apply to gift-giving situations when there are marked disparities of status, for example a handout to a beggar or a present from an adult to a child.)

The Japanese are much more involved in giving gifts than Americans are, and they are fully aware of the demands of reciprocity. Here is an example from Tokyo:

Mr. A. called at the B's household for a friendly chat and brought a gift of a very special sort of watermelon. He said that he just happened to be passing the fruiterers and thought they would like it. The next day Mrs. B went to the fruiterers to enquire how much such a melon would cost. She was told between 300 and 350 *yen*. She thereupon took to the A's a return gift of two bottles of beer, costing approximately 250 *yen*. (Dore 1965:261)

Mrs. B's return gift was worth a little less than Mr. A's, since she had not asked Mr. A to bring her a melon; but if she had done so, her present would have had to be a much more generous one.

In many "primitive" societies there is much giving of presents and

sharing of goods, and in such societies generosity is always admired. To freely give away a valued present brings prestige. At the same time, the stingy person evokes disapproval. Elizabeth Thomas (1959:22) writes:

A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because it will become the object of envy.

There are powerful sanctions, then, to encourage generosity.

Gifts may be given to members of other societies besides one's own, partly to maintain peace but also to acquire goods not locally obtainable. Reciprocal exchanges occur not only between individuals but also between groups, and this may help to strengthen their mutual interdependence. Marriages and gift exchanges establish close ties between neighboring groups.

The institution of the trading partner is found in many societies. *Trading partners* are men who count on a generally reciprocal pattern of exchange. There may be no immediate equivalent return for a gift, but over the course of time a man expects that his trading partner will even the balance.

The Kula Ring

Most anthropology texts discuss the kula ring, and that custom will be followed here because Malinowski's description of the kula ring (1922) is one of the classics of anthropology and because it presents one of the first and most detailed accounts of economic exchanges in a non-Western society.

The area studied by Malinowski between 1914 and 1920 comprised the eastern mainland of New Guinea and the island archipelagoes to the east and northeast, particularly the Trobriand Islands. The inhabitants of these islands are horticulturists who raise yams and catch fish in a tropical environment well supplied with palms, breadfruit, and mangoes. They have large, seagoing canoes, hollowed from logs and equipped with outriggers, in which they make expeditions to other islands. The expeditions that arouse their greatest interest and enthusiasm are those having to do with the kula.

The kula is a form of ceremonial trade, intertribal in scope, occurring in a wide range of islands. Within this ring two classes of valued objects are exchanged, red shell necklaces and white shell armbands. The necklaces travel in a clockwise direction along the ring, while the armbands travel in a counterclockwise direction.

Engaged in this trade are men, particularly men of higher status, who have learned the magic and etiquette connected with these transactions and who have been able to obtain one or more of the valued objects to trade with. A young man may learn the requisite magic and etiquette from either his father or his mother's brother, one of whom may also give him the trading item he needs to get started. He must then acquire some trading partners, perhaps from among those with whom his father previously exchanged. Chiefs may have hundreds of such partners; commoners, only a few. A partnership is a lifetime relationship, often binding together men of different tribes and different languages.

When a man receives a necklace or an armband, he does not keep it long. Like the few possessions of the Bushmen, the armbands and necklaces keep passing from hand to hand, but in this case they pass along regular routes. Most of the armbands are too small to be worn, even by young children; those that can be put on are worn only at important ceremonial dances. The necklaces are also seldom worn, being considered too valuable for everyday use. While such objects are in a man's possession, they are much discussed; some of them are well known and have long histories, like famous diamonds in the Western world. But a man must soon relinquish such a prize to a trading partner in the appropriate direction in the circle. Since the geographical expanse covered by the circle is wide, covering hundreds of miles, it may take from two to ten years for an armband or necklace to return to its starting point.

There is no haggling or discussion of price in kula transactions. The partners count on reciprocity, sooner or later. In addition to this ceremonial exchange of precious objects, there is also trade in other goods. When visiting a distant island, the Trobrianders have an opportunity to exchange some of their own special produce for goods that may not be available at home, including coconuts, sago, fish, baskets, mats, clubs, and stones. In this trade, bargaining does take place.

The kula ring illustrates the role of reciprocity, but it also shows that economic transactions may be tied up with all sorts of magical and ceremonial activities. Although the kula cycle may seem unusual from our point of view, it is not unique. Exchanges of valued goods following particular routes, similar to the kula, have also been reported for some of the tribes of Australia.

In a discussion of reciprocity, Alvin W. Gouldner has drawn attention to the long lapse of time that occurs before repayment is received in the kula ring and suggests: "This is a time . . . when men are morally constrained to manifest their gratitude toward, or at least to maintain peace with, their benefactors" (Gouldner 1960:174). The state of indebtedness contributes to social stability and integration.

Indeed, in some societies a rough equivalence of payments is preferred to an exact return, which may seem to mark an end to the relationship; a more delayed repayment is often preferred to a prompt one (Bock 1969:211-13).

Redistribution

The Trobriand economy illustrates another principle besides reciprocity: that of *redistribution*, by which goods are funneled to a central place of storage and then redistributed by some central administrative authority.

A Trobriand man assumes the responsibility of providing his married sister and her family with a regular supply of yams, which are kept in a storehouse at her home. Most Trobriand Islanders are monogamous, but a chief may have as many as sixty wives coming from the different constituent communities of his area. Having so many wives, a chief has a correspondingly large number of brothers-in-law, all bringing him yams. One Trobriand chief was reported by Malinowski to receive from 300 to 350 tons of yams a year. This enables a chief to give tremendous feasts, to entertain visitors, and to be a paragon of generosity.

This system differs from reciprocity in the enhanced status that it gives the chief through whom goods are distributed. The system allows the chief to appropriate some of the goods for his own purposes. As Gerhard E. Lenski has pointed out, in such societies there is usually no clear distinction between the chief's personal wealth and the people's surplus. The chief is a kind of symbol of his tribe; as its representative, he is expected to be generous. While this may inhibit his acquisition of private wealth and power to some extent, the chief may be able to accumulate some private stores, particularly when the economy is expanding. The next step might be the creation of a retinue of dependent officials and retainers who will have a vested interest in the chief's power and be able to support him. This is how Lenski has accounted for the development of political power in advanced horticultural societies (Lenski 1966:164-68).

A similar argument has been made by Morton H. Fried, who believes that reciprocity is the mode of exchange associated with simple, egalitarian societies of the hunting-gathering level, while redistribution is found in what he calls "rank societies," which are characterized by social inequality, as the term suggests. These are societies that have reached a Neolithic level of food production and have experienced a growth of population and physical expansion beyond that of the hunting-gathering band (Fried 1967:109-18).

Redistribution need not always work to promote chiefly power. In some Oceanic societies, according to Berndt Lambert (1966), redistribution may have more ritual than economic importance, serving to confirm a chief's authority rather than to establish an economic basis for it.

Polanyi (1957:51) believes that the principle of redistribution was an important aspect of the large-scale economies of ancient times, including the Babylonian kingdom of Hammurabi and the New Kingdom of Egypt. Modern systems of taxation and the provision of government services may be seen as a form of redistribution.

The Kwakiutl Potlatch

The Kwakiutl potlatch was a lavish, carefully staged feast in which much property was given away and sometimes destroyed. The potlatch is another old standby of anthropology texts. It was described at length in an early classic of ethnology, Franz Boas's *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, published in 1897. Hundreds of thousands of readers have learned about the potlatch from Ruth Benedict's dramatic account in *Patterns of Culture* (1934).

The Indians who occupied the coastal regions of British Columbia in aboriginal times depended on hunting, fishing, and gathering but were sufficiently well off to live in villages with large, plank-walled, gable-roofed houses. Many other tribes inhabited this area, including the Nootka, Bella Bella, Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit, but we will focus on one group, the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl got much of their food from the streams and the sea: salmon, cod, herring, candlefish, halibut, flounder, and many other fishes, as well as such sea mammals as seals, porpoises, and occasional stranded whales. They also collected many kinds of berries and roots and hunted inland game. Some of their food was stored and preserved for winter, when conditions were less favorable.

In the late eighteenth century, the coming of whites and the fur trade enriched Northwest Coast culture. When iron knives and other cutting tools were introduced, the Indians produced the splendid totem poles that are the hallmark of their culture. The idea of the totem pole was already present in that culture, but the improved knives greatly facilitated carpentry and wood carving, manifest also in finely made cedar boxes, masks, and other forms of woodwork. Another introduction of the fur trade was the Hudson Bay blanket, which became a form of currency, frequently changing hands, being borrowed and lent at high rates of interest. In Boas's day a cheap white woolen blanket was worth fifty cents. Highly valued objects were hammered and decorated sheets of copper, worth hundreds of blankets. Blankets, coppers, and canoes figured prominently in the gift distributions at a potlatch.



The introduction of iron knives in the late eighteenth century improved wood-carving techniques in the Northwest Coast.
© Michelle Vignes/
Jeroboam

Potlatches were held on occasions marking changes of status: a girl's first menstruation, a wedding, a funeral, and various other occasions. A chief would give a potlatch to establish his heir. A potlatch could be given by one tribe to other tribes. The other basic potlatching unit was the *numaym*, a named landholding group headed by a chief, whose members were related to the chief, usually by patrilineal descent (see page 156) but sometimes through their mothers or wives.

A potlatch was a channel for redistribution. The male members of a *numaym* gave some of the game and fish they caught to their chief, while the women gave his wife some of their roots and berries. By accumulating such goods the chief was able to prepare for a feast and to pay for the building of canoes or a new house or the carving of totem poles. He might also borrow blankets in order to have a big supply to give away.

The best potlatcher would be the man who gave away so many gifts to his guests that they would never be able to repay him. In this way he demonstrated his wealth and splendor. These giveaways were sometimes accompanied by boastful speeches in which the host extolled his own greatness and derided the poverty and inferiority of his guests.

There was also destruction of property, the smashing and burning of canoes, and the pouring of buckets of candlefish oil into a fire. The climax might be the breaking of a copper, the pieces being thrown into a fire or into the sea. These extravagant features may have been late developments in the potlatch.

The potlatch served many functions: it announced and validated changes in rank and status, emphasized the solidarity of the *numaym* or tribe, and brought about much redistribution of goods, while providing a lot of drama and excitement in the process.

Leveling Mechanisms

The destruction of property, as in the potlatch, may serve as a leveling mechanism that prevents too much wealth from being amassed by individuals or special groups. The Apa Tani of the Subansiri Valley in northeastern India have a somewhat similar institution called *lisudu*. If a wealthy Apa Tani thinks he has been insulted and wants to humiliate his enemy, he kills one or more *mithan* cows in front of his rival's house. He may also destroy some valuables, such as Tibetan bells, bronze plates, and swords. "If his opponent accepts the challenge he must slaughter at least the same number of mithan and destroy property of equal value in front of the challenger's house. The next move is that the latter kills an even greater number of mithan" (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1962:111). And so on. This rivalry may lead to the near ruin of both men. Von Fürer-Haimendorf describes a *lisudu* in which the final round resulted in each competitor doing away with 60 *mithan*. In such cases, the rivals borrow cattle from both paternal and maternal relatives. The meat is not wasted since it is eaten by the villagers, who thus profit from this contest of the rich.

The giveaway of horses and other goods on the Great Plains was another, less destructive kind of leveling mechanism. In Mexican villages well-to-do peasants may be required to subsidize fiestas and displays of fireworks, which burn up money while providing pleasure for all. Warfare may also serve, sometimes literally, as a leveling mechanism.

Markets

Many agricultural societies have been able to get along with little or no reliance on money or markets. If the typical family is largely self-sufficient, growing its own grain, raising livestock, spinning its own thread, and making its own clothing, it may not have to depend much



Market in Pisac,
Peru. © MCMLXXXI
Peter Menzel

on trade and can resort to barter for needed items, exchanging one commodity for another.

Early New England colonial families provide an illustration of such a state of affairs. Even in a society that has long had money and markets, rural people may be able to get along without handling much currency. An example will be given later, in Chapter 11, when we discuss the *jajmani* system by which goods and services are exchanged in rural villages in India, with little use of money involved. But with growing specialization and division of labor, a barter system is apt to become unwieldy. This may explain why market systems using a common medium of exchange have appeared in different parts of the world.

A market is a place where goods are regularly bought and sold, where buyers and sellers meet to complete transactions. The personal and status considerations that influence reciprocity and redistribution are not expected to be of major importance in market exchanges. Instead, considerations of supply and demand are expected to be uppermost, with ties of kinship and friendship being irrelevant. The buyer

wants to buy as cheaply as possible; the seller wants to make a good profit. Both can avoid unwanted transactions, for the buyer is able to find other sellers in the market and the seller can attract other buyers. Market systems have not developed in all horticultural and agricultural societies (they were not found, for example, in Polynesia), but they do have a wide distribution among peasant societies.

Market systems are greatly facilitated by the use of a commonly accepted medium of exchange, whether it be shell money, as in parts of Micronesia, cacao beans among the Aztecs, or the coinage of advanced Old World civilizations.

It seems likely that, as a system of exchange, reciprocity preceded redistribution, while the latter antedated the development of market systems. But market systems are fairly old, nevertheless. One of the first-known city markets was the *agora* of Athens of the fifth century B.C., which was associated with a coinage system. According to Herodotus, the Persians at that time had no markets. He quotes the Persian emperor Cyrus speaking scornfully of the Greeks: "I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves." Herodotus observes: "Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market-places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and indeed have not in their whole country a single market-place." (Blakeney 1936:79)

Summary

In the United States today we have an economy based on a market system responsive to laws of supply and demand, but this kind of economy is relatively recent. In preindustrial times there were other ways in which goods and services were exchanged, notably reciprocity and redistribution. In the kula ring of the Trobriand Islanders and their neighbors, reciprocity became formalized, operating between trade partners, with valued goods passing along regular routes.

The system of redistribution involves the funneling of goods to a central place of storage and their redistribution by some central administrative authority, such as a headman or chief. The Kwakiutl potlatch is an example.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Two short general works on economic anthropology are recommended: Cyril S. Belshaw, *Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965); and Manning Nash, *Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1966). There are also two

readers: George Dalton, ed., *Tribal and Peasant Economics: Readings in Economic Anthropology* (New York: Natural History Press, 1967); and Edward E. LeClair, Jr., and Harold K. Schneider, eds., *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

For a classic study of reciprocity, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

The classic work on the kula ring is Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1922). The reader might also consult a more recent analysis of kula trade made from a different perspective: J. P. Singh Uberoi, *Politics of the Kula Ring: An Analysis of the Findings of Bronislaw Malinowski* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1962).

Some accounts of the Northwest Coast potlatch may be found in Tom McFeat, ed., *Indians of the North Pacific Coast* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1966).

For early trade relations, see Jeremy A. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds., *Ancient Civilizations and Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975). For a series of essays on economic anthropology, see Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine & Atherton, 1972).



Windows on Three Cultures I

At the end of each of seven parts in this text, starting with this one, there will be a series of ethnographic accounts dealing with three cultures: the Inuit or Central Eskimos, the Hopi of Arizona, and contemporary Japan. The Inuit not only represent a hunting-gathering way of life but also illustrate accommodation to a particularly demanding Arctic environment, while the Hopi represent a horticultural or agricultural people living in a semidesert environment. Contemporary Japan illustrates a modern industrial and commercial economy with cultural traditions different from those of the United States. In each of the groups of ethnographic descriptions, the main focus will be on the topic dealt with in the immediately preceding chapters. In this chapter, therefore, there will be a brief description of the geographical environment and its resources, followed by an account of the main subsistence techniques practiced in each of the three cultures.

The Inuit

Eskimos are found mainly in coastal areas between the Bering Strait in the west and the east coast of Greenland on the east. This is a tremendous distance, eight hundred miles longer than the distance between New York and San Francisco, and yet the Eskimo population



Contemporary Alaskan Eskimos skinning a small walrus. Steve McCutcheon/Alaska Pictorial Service

is very small and scattered, numbering only about thirty-eight thousand in the 1930s (Weyer 1932:1).

Within the larger Eskimo region, the Central Eskimo area stretches from Coronation Gulf on the west, where the Copper Eskimos are found, through King William Island and Boothia Peninsula, territory of the Netsilik Eskimos, to the northern part of Hudson Bay, where the Iglulik Eskimos are located. The three groups mentioned, Copper, Netsilik, and Iglulik Eskimos, and other groups of the central area had very similar cultures in the period from the 1880s to the 1920s, when they were visited by such anthropologists as Franz Boas, Knud Rasmussen, and Diamond Jenness. That is the period of the “ethnographic present” dealt with in all of our sections on the Inuit, as they call themselves, except for “Windows on Three Cultures VII.”

The culture of the Central Eskimos differs in some respects from those of the Greenland Eskimos to the east and the Alaskan Eskimos to the west; the differences from the latter are greater, for the Alaskan Eskimos have more permanent settlements and a more complex social organization. Moreover, they have been influenced by the cultures of the Northwest Coast and Siberia. Kroeber, who made a fundamental distinction between the cultures of the western Eskimos, on the one hand, and those of the central and eastern Eskimos, on the other, listed the following distinctive traits found in Alaska: “labrets, masks, hats

in place of hoods, coiled basketry or other weaving, pottery, grave monuments, mourning feasts or ceremonies, property distributions, war parties, perhaps clans or moieties" (Kroeber 1939:24).

Apart from these western specializations, Eskimo culture is surprisingly uniform from east to west. Setting out in 1921, Knud Rasmussen¹ traveled by dog sledge from Hudson Bay to the Bering Strait. On this journey Rasmussen was struck by the uniformity of language and culture throughout that great expanse. There were only minor differences of dialect except toward the west, south of the Yukon. Rasmussen found that most groups used the dog sledge and the kayak,² a blubber lamp of stone or pottery, harpoons, and other standard Eskimo items of material culture. The shaman or medicine man was found in all regions, and even the folktales were much the same from Greenland to Alaska.

But there are some local differences in the Eskimo region. The Polar Eskimos of northern Greenland have lost the sledge and the kayak and also the umiak.³ The umiak was more common in Alaska and South Greenland than in the central area (Freuchen 1961:64). The inland Caribou Eskimos have little contact with the sea and rely mainly on fishing and on hunting caribou.

The habitat of the Central Eskimos lies within the Arctic Circle. As was mentioned earlier (page 86), the summer is too short to permit the development of agriculture. Hence, Inuit have to be hunters, relying on animal food. To add to their problems, the nights are long during winter. In December the Copper Eskimos have only about five hours during the day when it is light enough to hunt. The Inuit also have a shortage of wood. In this respect, some of the more southerly Alaskan Eskimos are better off, since they live in a region where timber is available and they can use wood for fuel and house construction. But the Central Eskimos are not so fortunate; they have to make use of driftwood for tent poles and boat frames or else make very long trips to inland forests. Because of the scarcity of wood, many tools, such as knives, bows, harpoons, and spears, are made of bone and caribou antler.

Here are people living in the coldest environment known to humans but without enough wood to build a house in winter or to use for fuel! The Inuit solution to the need for shelter was to build a house of snow, while the fuel problem was solved by using seal blubber for lamps, which give light and warmth to an igloo or hut. But it takes a long time to boil meat over a blubber lamp, especially among groups with the

¹ Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) was born in Greenland of part Eskimo descent and could speak Eskimo as well as Danish.

² A narrow leather boat, about twenty-two feet long.

³ A larger leather boat, more like a rowboat.

soapstone pots characteristic of the Central Eskimo area. Rasmussen wrote that it took one group of Inuit five hours to cook a potful of fish and boil a kettle of water. The water was often ice or snow that had to be melted first. Because of these difficulties, much food was eaten raw or frozen.

Weyer gives a rather gruesome list (to the mind of a city dweller) of foods eaten by Eskimos: "raw intestines of birds and fish, swallowed like oysters; live fish gulped down whole, head first; slime scraped from a walrus hide together with some of the human urine used in the tanning process; fatty soup thickened with the blood of seal or caribou (common among most Eskimos); fat, maggoty larvae of the caribou fly served raw; the contents of the caribou's pouch, left in the body so long that the whole mass has become tainted; deer droppings, munched like berries" (Weyer 1932:72). Yet the Inuit managed to be quite healthy people. We are told that for a balanced diet one should eat fruits, leafy green vegetables, dairy products, and other items that are not available to the Eskimos. How is it, then, that they survive so well in such a difficult environment? It seems that although they eat mainly meat, the Inuit eat the whole animal, not just lean meat, and this gives them the carbohydrates and vitamins they need.

The Inuit consume an average of two hundred grams of protein a day. That is much more than the seventy-five-grams daily average in the United States. Their fat consumption is also high—185 grams daily, making up 66 percent of their diet, while the average American consumes about 117 grams of fat daily. On the other hand, Inuit carbohydrate intake is low—ten grams daily. One might expect health problems on the basis of these figures, but the Inuit are healthy and do not suffer from vitamin deficiency. They get calcium from chewing bird and fish bones (Draper 1977:311; McElroy and Townsend 1979:23-24).

The Inuit follow different ways of life in winter and summer. At the beginning of winter, when the sea starts to freeze over, the Eskimos camp along the coast. Later they move out onto the frozen sea ice, on which they build their snow huts. They are dependent on seals during the winter months, and the men wait at blowholes on the ice to harpoon the seals when they come up to breathe. It is best to have a winter settlement that contains a number of adult males, for a seal is apt to have several blowholes; therefore, many blowholes should be covered. Even so, hunters may have to wait a long time. Rasmussen (1931:159) records that a group of fifteen hunters waited for eleven hours to catch one seal. Seals provide the main food during wintertime. Stefansson (1921:311) estimated that three humans and six dogs require about two seals per week. As we have seen, seal blubber is important as fuel for cooking and for heating the dwelling. Sealskin is used for making boots and tents, and seal intestines are used for making waterproof clothing and windows.

In winter the Inuit make snowhouses or igloos about twelve feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are built of snow blocks three or four feet long, two feet high, and six to eight inches thick. Two men work together, one cutting the blocks with a special snow knife and the other doing the building. The igloo is dome shaped or vaulted without the use of a scaffold. (This was the only domed construction in the New World before Columbus.) Such a dwelling can be built in about two hours by two skilled workers. The igloo is generally equipped with a window of ice, chipped from a lake or stream. Narrow tunnels may be constructed as approaches to the dwelling, which reduces the impact of the cold outside air. Several igloos may be connected by their tunnels. Sometimes a dance house forms a central building, with adjacent connecting snowhouses. Since the snow freezes to ice, these are sturdy structures, and a man can stand on the roof without its collapsing (Jenness 1922:63).

An early description of an igloo was written in 1824 by Captain George F. Lyon, who was astonished by what he saw after creeping through a snow tunnel:

We found ourselves in a cluster of dome-shaped edifices, entirely constructed of snow, which, from their recent erection, had not been sullied by the smoke of the numerous lamps that were burning, but admitted the light in most delicate hues of verdigris green and blue, according to the thickness of the slab through which it passed. The natives were evidently in their best apparel, and made a very neat appearance; the darkness of their deer-skin dresses affording a strong contrast to the brilliancy of their habitations (Lyon 1970:68-70).

In spring the ice and snow begin to melt, and eventually the igloos are no longer habitable. Summer is the time for hunting caribou and fishing for trout. So the Inuit have to leave the coastal waters, where the ice is breaking up. Tents are used for dwellings in summer, having a framework of poles covered by caribou skins. They measure about fifteen feet in length, with a maximum width of eleven feet, and about seven feet in height. The interior arrangement is like that of an igloo, with a sleeping platform at the back opposite the entrance (Jenness 1922:78-79).

Before the introduction of rifles, the Netsilik Eskimos hunted caribou with bows and arrows and fished with harpoons. In August they built weirs to catch salmon trout, spearing them with a *leister*, a trident-shaped spear. At the end of August they killed caribou at crossing places on lakes, where the men paddled up in their kayaks to spear them, while beaters on shore helped to drive the caribou. Early in October the Netsilik fished salmon trout with leisters through the ice on inland rivers (Balicki 1968:80; Balicki 1970:43).

Boas has left a vivid description of a typical Eskimo day in winter-time. This account not only describes hunting and subsistence prac-



Inuit hunter.
Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary

tices but also gives an idea of the relationships between males and females, the different roles of the two sexes, and their division of labor.

At this time of year it is necessary to make use of the short daylight and twilight for hunting. Long before the day begins to dawn the Eskimo prepares for hunting. He rouses his housemates; his wife supplies the lamp with a new wick and fresh blubber and the dim light which has been kept burning during the night quickly brightens up and warms the hut. While the woman is busy preparing breakfast the man fits up his sledge for hunting. He takes the stone block which closes the entrance of the dwelling room during the night out of the doorway and passes through the low passages. Within the passage the dogs are sleeping, tired by the fatigues of the day before. . . . The sledge is iced,⁴ the harnesses are taken out of the storeroom by the door, and the dogs are harnessed by the sledge. Breakfast is now ready and after having taken a hearty meal of seal soup and frozen and cooked seal meat the hunter lashes the spear that stands outside the hut upon the sledge, hangs the harpoon line, some toggles, and his knife over the antlers, and starts for

⁴ Explanatory note: A hunter gave a coating first of mud and then of ice to the runners of his sledge. He filled his mouth with water and sprayed it carefully on the runners. The water quickly froze to give a coating that helped the runners move more easily over the ice and snow.

the hunting ground. Here he waits patiently for the blowing seal, sometimes until late in the evening. . . .

Meanwhile the women, who stay at home, are engaged in their domestic occupations, mending boots and making new clothing, or they visit one another, taking some work with them, or pass their time with games or in playing with the children. While sitting at their sewing and at the same time watching their lamps and cooking the meat, they incessantly hum their favorite tunes. About noon they cook their dinner and usually prepare at the same time the meal for the returning hunters. As soon as the first sledge is heard approaching, the pots, which have been pushed back during the afternoon, are placed over the fire, and when the hungry men enter the hut their dinner is ready. While hunting they usually open the seals caught early in the morning, to take out a piece of the flesh or liver, which they eat raw, for lunch. . . .

After the hunters reach home, they first unharness their dogs and unstring the traces, which are carefully arranged, coiled up, and put away in the store room. Then the sledge is unloaded and the spoils are dragged through the entrance into the hut. A religious custom commands the women to leave off working, and not until the seal is cut up, are they allowed to resume their sewing and the preparation of skins. . . .

When the men have finished their meal the women take their share, and then all attack the frozen meat which is kept in the store rooms. The women are allowed to participate in this part of the meal. . . .

All the work being finished, boots and stockings are changed, as they must be dried and mended. The men visit one another and spend the night in talking, singing, gambling, and telling stories. The events of the day are talked over, success in hunting is compared, the hunting tools requiring mending are set in order, and the lines are dried and softened (Boas 1888:561-65).

A way of life like this could hardly permit large concentrations of people. Inuit bands were generally small. Boas (1888:426) listed ten settlements with their population figures. The largest one numbered 82 persons and the smallest only 11. The intermediate figures were 20, 26, 29, 17, 43, 17, 43, and 40. Oswalt estimated the total aboriginal population of the Copper Eskimos to be about 1,000; the Netsilik, about 700; and the Iglulik, about 550 (Oswalt 1979:314).

The Hopi of Arizona

The Hopi are farming people who live in thirteen settlements in north-eastern Arizona. They are the westernmost representatives of the Pueblo culture, a sedentary village way of life based on farming, whose origins can be traced back to the Basketmaker culture that existed in the American Southwest around the time of Christ. The Hopi environment is bleak and dry, not as amenable to farming as the land farther



Women and children in the pueblo of Oraibi, the oldest continuously occupied town in the United States. *EKM-Nepenthe*

east. In Preston James's terms, the region can be classified as Dry Lands or semidesert. Precipitation averages a little over ten inches a year. When it does rain during the summer, the heavy downpour often damages the soil and washes away the crops. The corn fails to mature fully every three or four years.

Hopi settlements were built on the edges of projections from Black Mesa, a tableland rising above the plains, containing a thick layer of sandstone. "Some of the mountain rainfall percolates down through the sandstone and then seeps very slowly southward between the two layers. It takes two years for this water to reach the edge of the mesa, where it emerges from the face of the cliff wall as springs" (Lisitzky 1956:241). This feature has helped the Hopi to persist in their farming way of life over the centuries. One of their settlements, Oraibi, was founded around A.D. 1100 and is still occupied today, making it the oldest continuously occupied town in the United States.

Besides the scarcity of water, the Hopi, like the Central Eskimos, face a shortage of wood. There are no nearby forests. However, some wood is used in the construction of houses, along with stone and adobe mud. There are also *kivas*, underground ceremonial chambers. These serve as clubhouses and workshops for the men, and religious rituals are performed in them.

Because of the desert environment, there are relatively few wild animals. There are some deer, antelope, and rabbit, but not enough to make an important contribution to the food supply. No fish are available. In contrast to the Eskimos, then, the Hopi are mainly vegetarian. Originally they were horticulturists, using a digging stick as their main farming tool. The Spaniards, who invaded the Southwest in the

sixteenth century, made some changes in their farming practices. Although the domination of the Spaniards was resented and the Hopi joined in the Great Pueblo Rebellion against them in 1680, the Spaniards brought innovations that improved the Indians' basis of subsistence, including the use of iron hoes and steel axes and the planting of peach and apricot trees, as well as wheat, peas, and other vegetables. Animals that had been domesticated in the Old World were also introduced: sheep, horses, and donkeys were incorporated into the Hopi economy. In 1944 about three-fourths of the household groups in New Oraibi had plows and scrapers, and many also had teams and wagons (Thompson and Joseph 1944:20). Hopi culture, then, is certainly not unchanging, but in some respects, notably in religion, it has remained very conservative.

Hopi settlements have had small populations. Drawing from a survey published in 1932, Ellis (1974:29ff.) gives the following figures: Walpi, 163; Sichomovi, 315; Hano, 309; Polacca, 787; Shungopovi, 307; Shipaulovi, 123; Mishongnovi, 266; Oraibi, 87; Hotevilla, 418; Bakabi, 129; and Kiakocho-movi, 355. All told, there are about four thousand Hopi.

Contemporary Japan

Japan is one of the leading nations of the world today, having the third most successful economy after those of the United States and the Soviet Union, although compared to these nations, Japan is relatively small—smaller than California but larger than Italy. To move from a discussion of the Eskimos and the Hopi to Japan involves a great shift in scale, but that indicates the difference between a way of life based on hunting-and-gathering or small-scale farming and a modern industrialized society.

Japan occupies four main islands: Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu. In Preston James's terms, the islands have two main types of geographical environment: Mid-Latitude Mixed Forest Lands and Mountain Lands. It is perhaps surprising that so highly industrialized and densely populated a country should be so forested and mountainous, but three-fourths of the land area in Japan is mountainous and unfit for cultivation, with two-thirds being forested. Only about one-sixth of the land area is suitable for farming, and that consists mainly of alluvial plains on the Pacific side of the main island of Honshu, where the largest centers of population are found. The four main islands have some differences in climate. The northernmost, Hokkaido, has a climate like that of Wisconsin or the New England states and corresponds with them in latitude, while Kyushu, the south-



Scene in Tokyo.
© James R. Holland/
Stock, Boston

ernmost, is in the same latitude as Georgia and has a correspondingly mild climate.

Japan has a population of about 115 million. This population is remarkably homogeneous in language, race, and culture, despite Japan's internal geographical barriers of woods and mountains. Japan used to be predominantly rural and agricultural, but it has had a rapid rate of urbanization. By 1940 one-fifth of the people lived in the six largest cities of Honshu (Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Yokohama, Kyoto, and Kobe), and today more than two-thirds of the people live in cities.

Japan is highly industrialized, although much of the production is on a small scale. Ninety eight percent of the manufacturing establishments have less than one hundred workers. Just before the end of 1980, Japan became the world's leading producer of automobiles, edging out the United States; it ranks third in steel production. Japan is weak in natural resources and must import oil and over 90 percent of its iron ore, tin, copper, nickel, and bauxite. To pay for these imports, Japan must export finished products. The United States is its main trading partner.

Although a relatively small percentage of the land is under cultivation, it is intensively farmed, with over half being under controlled irrigation. Terracing is widespread. Rice is the main crop, followed by wheat and barley (Reischauer 1977: chaps. 1 and 2; Ginsburg 1974). Fish also provide an important part of the Japanese diet, the main source of protein. Japan is one of the leading nations of the world in fishing.

Japanese homes tend to be small. In Niiike, the best-studied rural community in Japan, the average dwelling is about thirty-six feet long, eighteen feet deep, and one story high. The floor area is usually divided into six rooms of about equal size, with four rooms being elevated slightly above the others. The lower rooms have an earthen or concrete floor, while the higher ones have a flooring of *tatami* mats, padded rush mats of standard size, three feet by six feet. The outside walls are made of wattle and clay daub and have heavy wooden sliding doors. Inside, sliding paper doors serve to divide rooms. There is little furniture, since people sit on the floor. There may be one or two low tables, but there are no Western-style beds. Bedding is removed from a cupboard and laid out on the floor at night. There are separate small compartments for urinal, toilet, and bathtub (Beardsley, Hall, and Ward 1959:81-88).

Housing is more cramped in the cities. A third of the housing units in Tokyo average eleven by eleven feet in area (Reischauer 1977:29). In the more affluent Tokyo suburbs described by Ezra Vogel (1963), people live in privately owned, single-story, unpainted wooden houses that do not have basements or central heating. These homes are usually surrounded by small gardens and fences. More information about city life in Japan will be given in the Windows on Three Cultures VII section.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For general works on the Eskimos, see Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Eskimos* (London: Methuen, 1959); and Edward Moffat Weyer, Jr., *The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

The account of the Inuit in this chapter and subsequent ones is based primarily on the works of Franz Boas and Knud Rasmussen. Boas's book *The Central Eskimo* was published as part of the Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1888.

Rasmussen is the author of several books on the Central Eskimos. I have drawn primarily on his *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, vol. 7, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1929). See also Asen Balicki, *The Netsilik Eskimo* (New York: Natural History Press, 1970).

For a brief general description of Hopi culture and social organization, see George Peter Murdock, "The Hopi of Arizona," in Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 324-58. See also Gene Lisitzky, *Four Ways of Being Human* (New York: Viking Press, 1956), pp. 211-98. On Hopi agricultural patterns, see Maitland Bradfield, *The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture*, Royal Anthropological Institution Occasional Paper no. 30 (London, 1971).

A good general introduction to contemporary Japan is Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977). See also John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, *Twelve Doors to Japan* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965); and Arthur E. Tiedemann, ed., *An Introduction to Japanese Civilization* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1974).

Part Three

Family, Kinship, and Marital Residence





Marriage, Family Organization, and Kinship

We have seen that all primates, including humans, live in social groups. Every human society, whatever its size, has some kind of social structure or organization. Social relations are much more complex within a human group than within a group of nonhuman primates, since humans have a language that adds new dimensions to their communication with one another. Thus we have such terms as *mother*, *father*, *brother*, *sister*, *uncle*, *aunt*, and *cousin* to designate kin, and in many societies there are also terms corresponding to *chief* and *boss* that reflect political authority. Associated with these terms are concepts of status and role.

A *status* is a person's position in relation to others. An individual occupies many statuses. In our society a man may be a son to his parents, a brother to his sister, a husband to his wife, a father to his children, a foreman in relation to factory workers, a subordinate to higher officials, and maybe also the head of a glee club. A person's overall social status is derived from his composite statuses, which give some general idea of the position he occupies in his society. Status may be ascribed or achieved. An *ascribed status* is one assigned to an individual because of some biological characteristic such as sex or because of birth into a particular family. One cannot usually do much about an ascribed status. An *achieved status*, however, is brought about through effort and competition. A *role* is the behavior associated with a status, through which it is maintained.

When analyzing a particular society, an anthropologist or sociologist looks for the social units that it comprises. Very often such units are families. A *family* is a social group whose members usually live together and engage in economic cooperation; it normally includes two or more adults of both sexes responsible for rearing and educating the children who have been born to the female or females of the group or who have been adopted.

Functions of the Family

A family is a sexual unit in the sense that husband and wife may have sexual relations that cannot be regarded as illegal or be socially disapproved. But in many societies both premarital and extramarital sexual liaisons are permitted; in these societies sexual behavior is not meant to be confined to the family, as in the United States. This shows that satisfaction of the sex drive is not the only reason for establishment and maintenance of a family.

We do not usually think of a family as being engaged in economic cooperation, but families do have economic functions. These are of particular importance in societies where the main division of labor is that between the sexes. In hunting-gathering societies, men do the hunting, while women do most of the collecting, which usually provides most of the caloric intake. Women also prepare meals, make clothing, keep the fire burning, and look after the children, among other things. Such economic partnership, ultimately based on physiological differences between the sexes, continues to be important at more advanced cultural levels, persisting even in our own society, where the division of labor has become so complex.

Marriage also conveys status. Lévi-Strauss (1960:269) speaks of the "true feeling of repulsion which most societies have toward bachelorhood." In most societies a bachelor is felt to be an incomplete person. A similar, though milder, attitude is directed toward childless couples. Marriage and the birth of children are everywhere occasions for congratulations and festivity. A groom or a new father has, in a sense, "arrived."

The family may provide basic security and emotional satisfaction for its members, although it does not always do so. It is within the family that children are socialized and receive at least their earliest education.

The various functions of the family—sexual, reproductive, economic, status enhancing, emotional, and educational—may, of course, all be fulfilled outside the family unit, and sometimes more successfully than within it. It has already been noted that many societies permit

premarital and extramarital affairs. Illegitimate children and orphans are often brought up in institutions. Friendships and other emotionally rewarding social ties are formed outside the family. There are many other sources of status and prestige than being a spouse or parent. Certainly, most of the economic cooperation in our society takes place outside the family unit and children receive most of their education at school. Nevertheless, we still have families.

It is evident that families are quite successful social institutions, despite the fact that they often generate much tension, frustration, and hostility. One reason for the persistence and virtual universality of family groups is that children need the close care, attention, and companionship of adults. Families generally provide for these needs more successfully than larger, more impersonal institutions do. Not only is the adult-to-child ratio usually more satisfactory in the family, allowing for better care, but the parents of a child are more likely than a hired nurse to feel some personal involvement with it. Of course, some institutions may be well staffed and well run, while some families may contain neurotic or psychotic parents. For these reasons, young children may sometimes be better off in an orphanage than in a home; but it seems that by and large they are not. In fact, infants raised in institutions often show apathy and retardation and have a high death rate when adequate mother surrogates are not available.

In view of the virtual universality of family units and the relative success with which they manage to fulfill their functions, it seems likely that families will continue to exist in the future, although their disappearance has sometimes been predicted by social prophets.

The simplest family unit, a very widespread form, is the nuclear family consisting of husband, wife, and children. Yet there is an even simpler unit, that of mother and child, which is also very common. Such units are often regarded as a manifestation of breakdown or social disorganization, but in several Latin American countries they represent one-fourth or more of all the households (R. N. Adams 1960).

Exogamy and the Incest Taboo

In social science parlance it is customary to distinguish between the *family of orientation*, into which one has been born, and the *family of procreation*, established when one gets married. Normally one cannot marry into one's family of orientation. A marriage thus brings together people from two different families. In all societies there are rules of exogamy affecting marriage. *Exogamy* is a general term for the requirement to marry outside a particular group. (For the opposite principle of *endogamy*, see page 230.) There are different forms of

exogamy. In northern India one must marry outside one's village and sometimes outside a complex of about twenty villages. One could call this "village exogamy." Unilineal kinship groups, such as clans, are generally exogamous. In this case, we speak of "clan exogamy." We have no clans in the United States. Our exogamous units are small in comparison with those of most societies. A man in our society must at least marry outside his family of orientation; many would also taboo marriage with a first cousin and various other relatives, such as uncles or aunts. Not only is it forbidden to marry within one's family of orientation, but it is also considered very wrong to have sexual relations with a member of that family. Incest taboos are present in all societies, particularly with respect to mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister relations.

Incest taboos and rules of exogamy are not the same thing. The former concern sex relations; the latter have to do with marriage. Of course, one cannot marry a person with whom one cannot have sexual relations, but the two concepts should be kept distinct. Understandably, most societies disapprove of sexual relations between persons who are forbidden to marry, although there are some exceptions; in some African tribes a man may have intercourse with women of a lineage into which he may not marry.

The Inbreeding Theory of Incest Taboos

Anthropologists have wondered why incest taboos are so important and have offered various explanations to account for their origin. Two theories, which were suggested long ago, are usually rejected as inadequate but have recently found some partial support. One of these is the notion that early men somehow discovered that inbreeding has deleterious biological effects. A common response to this suggestion has been that close inbreeding is not necessarily damaging unless there are harmful recessive traits in the genotypes of the persons involved. Cleopatra came of a long line of brother-sister marriages. Brother-sister marriage was also practiced by ruling families in Hawaii and by the Inca of Peru without noticeable harmful effects. (Such marriages were generally forbidden to the rest of the population in these societies, although brother-sister marriages seem to have been allowed in Egypt during the period of Roman rule.) In some cases, inbreeding may be positively advantageous, which is why it is deliberately brought about by animal breeders. Thus, it has been argued, favorable cases should offset negative ones.

Until recently this seemed to be a good criticism of the inbreeding theory, but studies in population genetics have shown it to be invalid,

for the ratio of deleterious and lethal recessive genes to selectively advantageous genes turns out to be high. Close inbreeding over many generations is possible in lower mammals, such as rats, but not in more advanced, slow-maturing mammals that produce only one or two offspring at a time, with widely spaced births. Thus, close inbreeding in humans would have biological disadvantages after all, particularly in the mating of primary relatives (Aberle et al. 1963; Parker 1976: 287).

While this strengthens the case for the inbreeding argument, it seems unlikely that early humans could have figured it out, particularly since some nonliterate peoples such as the Arunta of Australia and the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia do not fully understand the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy and have quite different explanations for conception. If we adhere to the inbreeding explanation for the incest taboos, we have to resort to an argument in terms of natural selection: those societies that developed incest taboos were more likely to survive than those that did not.

The Childhood Association Theory of Incest Taboos

The other usually rejected theory explains the development of incest taboos on the ground that people who have been brought up together from childhood, such as brother and sister, are not apt to feel erotic attraction toward one another. The theory seems to be disqualified by the fact that cases of brother-sister incest do come to the attention of social workers. One may also cite the brother-sister marriages in the ruling families of Egypt, Hawaii, and Peru.

There may be some basis for the argument, nevertheless. Arthur P. Wolf has described a form of marriage among Chinese in northern Taiwan in which a girl is adopted by a boy's parents, often at less than a year of age and seldom at more than three years of age, and the boy and girl grow up together like brother and sister but marry when the girl becomes old enough. In the same community the more traditional form of arranged Chinese marriage is also found, in which the bride and groom are often strangers when they meet on the wedding day. Wolf presents evidence that the former type of marriage works out much less successfully than the latter and that much distaste is expressed for it. He also cites the Israeli *kibbutz*, in which children who have been raised together from infancy claim to feel no erotic attraction for one another. Love affairs within such a group are very rare (A. P. Wolf 1966).

One difficulty in applying such findings to the problem of the origin of incest taboos is that, if lack of erotic feeling resulted from siblings

growing up together, there would seem to be no reason for any society to have brother-sister incest taboos since there would be no need to proscribe behavior that was unlikely to occur.

Freud's Theory of Incest Taboos

Sigmund Freud made the opposite assumption, that strong erotic impulses are experienced within the family circle, primarily by a boy toward his mother. This is the basis for the *Oedipus complex* postulated by Freud: an erotic attachment to the mother accompanied by feelings of hostility toward the father. (In the case of a girl, the attachment is to the father.) These feelings and impulses have to be renounced or repressed but may continue to exist in the individual's unconscious. The horror generally shown at the idea of incest is interpreted, in this view, as an unconscious defense against temptation. Incest taboos, then, are regarded as reactions to the existence of incestuous desires. One advantage of this theory, in contrast to the one previously discussed, is that it does offer an explanation for the taboos.

A weakness of the theory is that among nonhuman primates that have been closely observed over long periods, mother-son sexual relations do not seem to take place, although there may be frequent grooming behavior between mother and son (Parker 1976:290).

Life Span Considerations and Incest Taboos

Mariam Slater has made calculations of the possibilities of incestuous relations in family groups living under primitive conditions. The life span is generally short in hunting-gathering societies. If the life span is from twenty-five to thirty-five years, and if puberty starts from thirteen to sixteen, there is not much likelihood of a boy having sexual relations with his mother. If a woman has five children and lives to be thirty-five, only an oldest male child who lives to maturity could become the father of one of her children—the last one. By the time most of the children are old enough to mate, their parents are dead; so they have to seek mates outside the family if they are going to mate at all. According to Slater, these patterns of mating-out existed before (and became the basis of) the development of incest taboos (Slater 1959). This seems convincing, although some of the assumptions about the life span and length of breeding periods of early humans may be incorrect. The analysis shows why early human beings had to find mates outside the family unit, but it does not exactly explain why incest taboos were subsequently formulated. (See also Busch and Gundlach 1977.)

Functional Interpretations of Incest Taboos

Some interpretations do not suggest any mechanism whereby incest taboos were brought about in the first place but do try to show that incest taboos had to be established if human society was to endure. If there were no incest taboos, it has been argued, there would be such disruptive sexual rivalry and tension within the family that it could no longer function as a family unit. This view has been countered by the argument that the sharing of sexual partners does not necessarily lead to conflict. Later in this chapter, some forms of polygamous marriage will be discussed in which there does not usually seem to be marked rivalry or tension, although sexual partners are shared. However, none of these marriage forms involve families in which both father and son have sexual access to the son's own mother or sister.

Another functional argument is that incest taboos are required to maintain roles in the family appropriate to the socialization process (Coult 1963). Still another functional argument is that incestuous family units would become isolated and culturally stagnant, while marriage into other social groups provides social contacts, allies, and channels for cultural diffusion. Groups developing such extrafamilial bonds would thus be more apt to survive than those without them. This explanation really has to do with exogamy, rather than with incest. Robin Fox has commented on this point:

In some societies fathers are allowed sexual intercourse with their daughters, and the daughters subsequently marry other men without, seemingly, any problems arising. . . . If, then, it is possible to have incestuous relationships and still marry out, the advantages of marrying out do not explain the prohibition on sex. (Fox 1967:57; Fox does not specify which societies allow father-daughter incest.)

Forms of Marriage

A *marriage* is a socially recognized union between a man and a woman. The union establishes a family unit. In different societies families vary greatly in size and composition. There are monogamous families and polygamous ones, small conjugal units and large consanguine family households. One way of classifying forms of family is in terms of the number of spouses involved. There are four general possibilities: (1) *monogamy*, a form of marriage involving one man and one woman; (2) *polygyny*, a form of marriage involving one man and more than one woman at the same time; (3) *polyandry*, a form of marriage involving one woman and more than one man at the same time; and (4) *group marriage*, involving more than one man and more than one woman at

the same time. It must be emphasized that these are all socially recognized forms of marriage in the societies where they occur, in contrast to adulterous, bigamous, or temporary “illicit” relationships. The term *polygamy*, a general term for marriage with plural spouses, is more widely known than *polygyny* and *polyandry*, but the latter are more specific in meaning.

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Monogamy	1	1
Polygyny	1	X
Polyandry	X	1
Group marriage	X	X

Note: X stands for more than one.

Monogamy

Monogamy is the form of marriage with which the reader will be most familiar, since it is the form characteristic of the Western world. However, in Murdock’s “World Ethnographic Sample” only about 24 percent of the 565 societies listed were described as monogamous (Murdock 1957:686). This form, which seems so natural to us, is thus relatively rare if one considers culturally preferred or desired forms. Even in polygynous societies, however, most marriages must be monogamous, for there are not enough women to go around. Since the sex ratio tends to be about even, it would not be possible for every man to have two or three wives; therefore, in polygynous societies it is usually the wealthier or more powerful men of high status who can afford additional wives, while the common man must be satisfied with one. Monogamy is found not only in advanced civilized societies but also occurs as the preferred form in such hunting-gathering groups as the Semang, the Veddas, and the Andamanese. Agricultural southwestern Pueblo Indians such as the Hopi have monogamous families, as did the aboriginal Iroquois of New York. Thus, monogamy occurs at different levels of socioeconomic development. Since the sex ratio is about the same in most human groups, monogamy is an understandable development, particularly in rather egalitarian societies.

Murdock has suggested that “where the productive accomplishment of the two sexes is approximately equal, and a small unit is as efficient as a larger one, monogamy may be economically advantageous” (Murdock 1949:36). This hypothesis seems reasonable, although it cannot always be easy to judge how nearly equal the productive accomplishments of the two sexes may be in particular societies or in which cases

small units are as efficient as larger ones, particularly when there are seasonal variations involving different kinds of activities in the course of a year.

Polygyny

Polygyny (meaning “many women” in Greek) involves a recognized marriage between a man and two or more women. It would not be considered polygyny if a man has a secret mistress or a concubine not recognized as a spouse or if, in our society, a man is guilty of bigamy, supporting two wives who are not known to each other. Polygyny has been a favored form of marriage in most parts of the world: in Africa and the Near East; formerly in India and China, Melanesia, and Polynesia; and among various aboriginal tribes of North and South America.

We have seen that monogamy is characteristic of many egalitarian hunting-gathering societies. While polygyny may also be found in such societies, as among the Eskimos, Ojibwa, and Sirionó, it seems to be generally related to a more advanced, productive type of economy. Remi Clignet has suggested that in Africa general polygyny tends to prevail in societies with a subsistence basis depending on roots, tubers, and arboriculture, which encourages the maintenance of large households. He concludes: “Rare among societies characterized by a lack of social stratification or, alternatively, by a large number of social levels, plural marriage is most frequent among societies divided into age grades or in which a hereditary aristocracy is separated from the bulk of the population” (Clignet 1970:21). Clignet claims that polygynous societies are characterized by a division of labor in which women carry out much of the agricultural production. Later the economic advantages of plural wives will be discussed further.

In view of the roughly equal sex ratio in most societies, how are enough females made available so that most of the less-fortunate males in a polygynous society are able to have at least one wife? This may be explained by the fact that females in such societies tend to be married when they are quite young, while males marry at a later age. Younger husbands may be monogamous, older ones polygynous. In a survey of a Gusii community in Kenya, Robert and Barbara LeVine found that the number of monogamous and polygynous adults was about the same. However, more than two-thirds of the community's children had polygynous parents, since many monogamous men were young husbands whose wives had not yet given birth or had done so only once. As these young men get older and have more children, they take on additional wives (LeVine and LeVine 1963:39).

Tax registers for the Nyakyusa of Tanzania (then Tanganyika) in the 1930s showed that in parts of their district, in a population of three thousand men 18 years of age or older, 34 percent were bachelors, 37 percent monogamists, and 29 percent polygynists. It was the young men who proved to be bachelors and monogamists, while the men over forty-five were polygynists. There was a difference of ten years or more in the average marriage age of women and men (Wilson 1950:112).

Polygynous Family Relationships

It is very common for the first wife to have the highest status in a polygynous household. Secondary wives tend to be younger than the first one and are often preferred by the husband. However, Wife Number One at least has the compensation of her higher status.

Different strategies are possible in the organization of a multiwife menage. A man may either live in one household with all of his wives together, or else he may set up separate households, one for each wife. The Sirionó, who live in the forests of eastern Bolivia, follow the first system. Each wife occupies a separate hammock in a communal dwelling, placed with reference to the husband's hammock in order of status. Thus, the hammock of Wife Number One is to the husband's right; that of Wife Number Two, to his left; that of Wife Number Three, at his head; and that of Wife Number Four, at his feet. In a more advanced kind of dwelling, a Yoruba male in Nigeria may have three or four wives living in a house containing about a dozen rooms.

On the other hand, in many African tribes a man sets up a separate household for each wife, sometimes located within a walled compound. Each wife has her own collection of pots and cooking vessels and brings up her own children. She may have her own field, separate from those of her co-wives, and a granary of her own. In such circumstances a dutiful husband follows a rotation system, perhaps spending Monday nights with one wife, Tuesday nights with another, Wednesday nights with a third, and so on. The Fon of Bafut in Cameroon, West Africa, had too many wives to follow such a system. In his case, the Fon's two top-ranking wives made out a schedule for him, allotting different wives for different nights. It was not up to the Fon but up to these social secretaries to handle the arrangements (Ritzenthaler 1966:171). Some such rotation system reduces friction and disputes among the wives. But it is not simply a matter of tact on the part of the husband; the rights of the wives are often supported by local law. In Madagascar the husband who spends one wife's day with another wife is committing adultery under native law. The injured wife may demand a divorce with alimony amounting to one-third of the husband's property (Linton 1936:186).

The women in a polygynous household are not necessarily



A polygynous family.
A Bakhtiari man with
three wives. *Tony
Howarth, Woodfin
Camp & Associates*

browbeaten creatures, although they sometimes are. They often seem to be self-confident and self-assertive. There is frequently strong rivalry and jealousy among co-wives, but this is not invariable, for they may share a cooperative relationship. From the point of view of the women involved, there are various advantages in having co-wives. Many hands make light work. The co-wives may form an efficient working team. As a collective union, they may face their husband with a set of joint demands. In the Western world a man can be henpecked by only one wife; in Africa, by five or more. Elenore Smith Bowen (1964:128) wrote the following concerning a West African family:

What man can stand up against five united women? If Ava's husband raised his voice to any one of his wives, all of them refused to cook for him. If he bought one of them a cloth, he had to buy four other identical cloths. Discipline of the wives was in Ava's hands, and stayed there. When the poor man got drunk one day and struck one wife for nagging—well, until he had given many and expensive presents to all his wives, the five of them slept barricaded in one hut.¹

¹ This account is from a novel, but it seems to be closely based on realities; the author is an anthropologist.

Sexual rivalry is not an inevitable problem in polygynous families. Indeed, in *Six Chapters from a Floating Life*, the autobiography of a Chinese gentleman of the early nineteenth century, the author writes about how his wife kept badgering him to add an attractive young concubine to their household. He attributed his wife's premature death to disappointment in her failure to bring this about. This is not to deny that sexual rivalry and jealousy may flourish under polygyny. There is ample evidence in ethnographic accounts that they do. But the women also have the compensations mentioned—companionship, extra help with routine chores, and also the prestige that comes from being part of a polygynous household, since it is usually the wealthier or more powerful men in a community who can support two or more wives.

From the man's point of view, polygyny has sexual advantages, not only because it provides variety but also because sexual intercourse is often tabooed during pregnancy, for a year or two after childbirth, or during menstrual periods. If Wife Number One is thus disqualified, the husband can turn to Wife Number Two or Three. The husband in a monogamous family in the Western world has no legal alternatives in such cases.

Polygyny makes possible the production of many children, and both children and wives are sources of prestige. In some cases, extra wives provide clear economic advantages as well. Mention was made in Chapter 6 of the Trobriand chief who might have sixty wives drawn from different villages. Since it was customary for brothers to provide their sisters with yams and other garden produce, the chief was continually supplied with a food surplus by his brothers-in-law and was able to give lavish feasts. Another Melanesian tribe, the Siwai, have feasts involving pigs. Pigs are a source of prestige in this society—the more pigs you have, the higher your reputation. But women are needed to raise pigs, so the more wives you have, the more pigs you can raise and the larger your gardens will be. A great increase in polygyny took place among the Blackfoot Indians of the Western Plains when the fur traders began to buy tanned hides. Since women did the tanning, they were in great demand. The more wives a man had, the more hides he could sell and the richer he became. In some societies, therefore, polygyny has given the men definite economic advantages, as well as the advantages of prestige and sexual satisfaction.

How do children fare under a polygynous system? There are differences in patterns of child rearing in different polygynous societies, so it is difficult to make generalizations; but in many such societies there may be strong emotional ties between mother and child, with much weaker ties between a child and its father, whose attentions are naturally divided among several wives and all of their offspring. In many polygynous societies there is a taboo on sexual relations between

husband and wife for a year or two after childbirth. During this time the child sleeps with the mother.

A child has no lack of age-mates in such a society; in addition to his own siblings he may have many half brothers and half sisters, children of the father's other wives. In some African societies there may be an element of rivalry in a boy's relations with his half brothers. They and their mothers are in competition for inheritance from the father; rivalry between the co-wives may foster rivalry between half brothers. LeVine (1961:61-62) writes that in such a society there are often tense relations between co-wives involving accusations of witchcraft and sorcery:

Children understand these hostile relationships while still young, and boys come to feel their personal stake in the struggle. Usually, good surface relations among half-siblings are maintained so as not to antagonize the family head, but there is likely to be considerable underlying aggression.

One form of polygyny that has had a wide distribution is sororal polygyny, a form of marriage in which a man marries two or more women who are sisters. It seems that in such cases there is a greater likelihood for the co-wives to share the same dwelling than in families where the wives are unrelated to one another. Some statistical support for this generalization has been provided by Murdock (1949:31). Among the Crow Indians, the wives lived in one tepee if they were sisters but had separate tepees if they were not.

As we have seen in the foregoing pages, polygyny may have various advantages both for the man and the women involved in such a union. Nevertheless, despite these benefits and the wide distribution of polygyny, this system of marriage seems to be on its way out in many parts of the world. The most influential industrialized nations of Europe, the United States, the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and Japan all require monogamous marriage. In societies now becoming more industrialized and influenced by Western culture, there are often feminist movements on behalf of monogamy. It is true that the Islamic religion supports polygyny, but it limits the permissible number of wives to four, and most Muslims can afford only one. In 1937, when Egypt was more traditional than it is today, only 0.02 percent of Egyptian marriages involved four wives, while 96.86 percent of the marriages were monogamous (Ammar 1966:201).

Polyandry

Polyandry (from a Greek term meaning "many men") is a form of marriage in which one woman lives with two or more husbands. It is

generally said to be a rare form of marriage, but Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1963) has listed a fairly sizable number of societies that practice it, including some tribes in the former Belgian Congo and northern Nigeria, the Paviotso Indians of North America, the Marquesans, the Kandyans of Ceylon, the Da-La of Indochina, and various peoples in India, Tibet, Kashmir, and Sikkim. Just as there are many monogamous families in societies that favor polygyny, so monogamy is also apt to be found in societies having polyandry. In Tibet and in the adjoining areas influenced by Tibetan culture, which make up the largest single continuous area where polyandry has flourished in recent times, cases of group marriage and polygyny may also be found.

Two types of polyandry may be distinguished: fraternal and non-fraternal. Fraternal polyandry is a marriage relationship in which a woman has two or more husbands who are brothers, the converse of sororal polygyny. In the second type of polyandry, the husbands are not related. Tibetans who practice fraternal polyandry sometimes explain it in terms of land inheritance. If two or more brothers share their land and share a wife, there is no need for division of property and land fragmentation, such as has plagued India, where holdings become progressively smaller whenever sons divide land inherited from their father. In western Tibet, where fraternal polyandry is common, there has been an impressive stability in the number and size of landholdings over many generations (Carrasco 1959:30). We cannot say that this explains why fraternal polyandry developed in Tibet, but one function of the system has been to preserve landholdings intact from one generation to the next.

We do not find, in the case of polyandry, a situation quite comparable to the African compound where each wife has a home of her own and the husband visits each in turn. In polyandrous households the wife and her husbands generally share the same menage. But, in the homes of some wealthy Tibetan aristocrats, each husband has his own bedroom, and the wife sooner or later visits each room, following decisions made by the men (Peter 1963:449).

In Jaunsar-Bawar in the state of Uttar Pradesh in northern India, the oldest brother in a fraternal polyandrous household has a definite priority over the others. It is he who goes through the marriage ceremony; his brothers then automatically become co-husbands. But whenever the oldest brother is in the house, the younger ones may not have intercourse with the wife (Saksena 1962:20).

In Jaunsar-Bawar all the brothers of a polyandrous household are called "Father" by their children; they are not distinguished by separate kinship terms, despite the priority of the oldest brother. Among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in southern India, a child has a socially designated father. Social anthropologists use the term pater to designate a socially recognized father as distinguished from the genitor, or

A "polygynandrous" family, Jaunsar-Bawar, in the Himalayan region. From *D. N. Majumdar, Himalayan Polyandry, Structure, Functioning and Culture Change: A Field Study of Jaunsar-Bawar* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1960)



biological father. In our society the genitor and pater are expected to be the same person, except in the case of stepfathers. The Todas are not concerned with identifying the genitor of a child—something that would be hard to determine, in any case, in a polyandrous household. In the seventh month of pregnancy, a Toda woman goes through a ceremony with a man that makes him the *pater* of her forthcoming child and also of her succeeding children until such time as she decides to go through the ritual with another man, who then becomes the pater of those that follow.

Group Marriage

Group marriages occur only rarely; they sometimes develop from polyandrous households in Tibet and among the Todas, the Marquesans, and the Kandyans of Ceylon. To illustrate one way in which this might occur, let us say that the wife of three brothers from western Tibet fails to give birth to a child. If they suspect that she is barren, they may add another wife to the household. The two wives are not divided among the brothers but are the common wives of all.

If a man and his brothers have in common three living wives and yet no child they may not marry another wife but may call in to their family circle another man as an additional husband. If he too begets no child

still another man may be called in. If he too is childless the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. (Carrasco 1959:36)

Group marriages may also develop if one of the husbands in a polyandrous family takes a fancy to a girl and asks his brothers to bring her into the family circle. It is possible that special alliances and preferences form in such a setting, but they must not become too marked if the group marriage is to remain intact. Group marriage occurred among the Todas during the period of British rule in India. In former times the Todas practiced female infanticide, which kept down the female population and thus helped to perpetuate polyandry. The British took strong measures to discourage infanticide. When the Todas gave it up, the number of women increased, which is said to have led to a rise in group marriages.

Levirate and Sororate

There are some kinds of secondary marriage reminiscent of fraternal polyandry and sororal polygyny. The levirate, as it is usually defined, is the custom whereby, when a man dies, his widow is expected to marry one of her dead husband's brothers. There is, however, another meaning for the term *levirate*, which Radcliffe-Brown refers to as the "true levirate." This is the custom, followed by the Hebrews of biblical times and by the present-day Nuer and Zulu tribes of Africa, whereby a man is required to cohabit with a dead brother's widow so that she may have children who are counted as children of the deceased. In this system the surviving brother is not considered to be the husband of the woman or the father of her children (Radcliffe-Brown 1950:64).

The sororate is the custom whereby, when a woman dies, her husband is expected to marry one of his dead wife's sisters. Thus, the terms *levirate* and *sororate* are used for secondary marriage with a sibling of a deceased spouse. The question may be raised, What if the deceased spouse has no sibling? The answer is that there may be a general sense of obligation on the part of the lineage or clan of the deceased to provide a substitute—if not an actual sibling, then some other appropriate member of the kinship line. For example, in some African tribes a man is given a wife's brother's daughter as a wife. Such customs show that, in societies where they occur, a marriage is not just a bond between individuals but serves to link two lineages or clans.² The relationship is not terminated by the death of a spouse; a substitute is supplied to maintain the linkage.

The levirate and sororate are widespread institutions. Of the 250

² Lineages and clans are defined and discussed on page 154.

societies studied by Murdock in his *Social Structure* (1949:29), 127 were reported to have the levirate and 100 to have the sororate.³

Kinship Relations

We are all related to some other persons through descent, marriage, or adoption, and we use kinship terms to designate these relationships. Persons related to us through birth or descent are *consanguine* or "blood" relatives; those related to us through marriage ("in-laws") are *affinal* relatives. Although all societies have terms for different kinds of relatives, like "mother," "father," and "uncle," societies differ in the relationships they distinguish and the ways in which relatives are lumped together or separated. There are some common basic principles, however, that are used to distinguish between different categories of relatives. These principles are set forth below (Kroeber 1909).

Principles of Classification

1. *Generation*. Most English kinship terms make use of the criterion of generation. Father, mother, uncle, and aunt belong to the parental generation. Grandfather and grandmother are in the generation before that. Brother and sister are in Ego's generation. Son, daughter, nephew, and niece are of the generation below Ego, the person from whom the relationships are reckoned.

2. *Relative age*. A criterion we do not use in our system but which is employed in some other kinship systems is distinction of age levels within a generation. Different terms are used for one's older and younger siblings (a general term for both brothers and sisters, without specifying the sex) or for one's father's or mother's older and younger siblings.

3. *Lineality versus collaterality*. Lineal kin are related in a single line, as grandfather-father-son, while collateral kin are related through a linking relative, such as father's brother or mother's brother. In some kinship systems, known as *merging*, such distinctions are not made. Father's brother may be addressed by the term for father, and father's brother's sons may be equated with siblings and addressed as "brother" in such a system.

4. *Sex of relative*. The English terms for mother, father, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, and niece all make distinctions in the sex of the relative, but our term *cousin* does not.

³ The numbers should probably be higher, since relevant data were not available for many societies.

5. *Consanguine versus affinal kin*. Kinship based on descent (mother, sister) is contrasted with relationship through marriage (mother-in-law, sister-in-law).

Except for the second criterion of relative age, our system makes use of the above principles. But some other widely used principles are not employed in our system:

6. *Sex of speaker*. In some societies different kinship terms are used by male and females.

7. *Sex of linking relative*. Distinctions between collateral relatives may be made on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. This serves to distinguish cross cousins from parallel cousins.

8. *Status or life condition*. Distinctions may be made between relatives on the basis of whether a linking relative is alive or dead, married or single.

Bilateral Descent

In our society we have what is called *bilateral descent*, that is, we feel that we are equally related to the mother's and father's people, although there is a unilineal principle in the passing-down of the family name through males. Our society is not alone in having bilateral descent, nor is this principle limited to the more advanced civilizations of the world. It is also found among some of the technologically simplest hunting-gathering societies. About 60 percent of the hunting-gathering societies listed in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample" have bilateral descent. But bilateral descent also occurs among agricultural societies at different levels of technological advance.

Why should it be that both the most and least technologically advanced societies so often have this kind of descent-reckoning rather than unilineal clans and lineages? The answer seems to be that flexibility and mobility are required in both hunting-gathering societies and modern industrial societies. In both cases, it is adaptive for nuclear families to be able to move in search of game resources or new job opportunities without first getting clearance from large family councils.

Unilineal Descent

A clan is a unilineal descent group, the members of which believe that they are related to one another through descent from a common ancestor or ancestress. The same definition could be given for a *lineage*, except that in a lineage the members are able to trace their descent to

known forebears, while in a clan the common ancestor is more distant and usually mythical. A clan may contain many lineages.⁴ Unilineal descent means that kin relationship is traced through one line, either through males, in which case we speak of *patrilineal* descent, or else through females, in which case we speak of *matrilineal* descent. In a society with unilineal descent, one is either a member of one's father's lineage or clan or a member of one's mother's lineage or clan, but not of both, although there are some exceptions in cases of "double descent" (see page 158). In patrilineal societies, property and titles are passed from father to son; in matrilineal societies, they are handed down from a man to his sister's son. Thus, property remains within the lineage or clan.

In clan societies a man and wife almost always belong to different clans. This is due to the rule of clan *exogamy*, the requirement to marry outside one's clan. Clans can be identified by the fact that they have names. Very often they are named after animals such as Bear, Wolf, or Fox, or after plants or other aspects of the environment. If a man belonging to the Bear clan meets a girl who says that she is a Bear, he knows that he cannot marry her, even though they may be unable to trace their genealogical relationship to each other.

A clan or a lineage may be a landowning unit. If a member has been killed, it can be responsible for blood vengeance and may demand indemnity. Religious cults may be associated with the unilineal group, such as the ancestor worship of traditional Chinese culture. Sacred objects or places of worship may be in charge of a particular clan, as among the Hopi. A named social unit that has a certain unity and special identity, that may own land, and that may serve as a focus for collective economic or religious activity can be called a *corporate* group. Members of such a group show their solidarity by coming together on ceremonial occasions such as initiations, weddings, and funerals. They often have the obligation to extend hospitality or financial aid to other members of the group. Myths are sometimes told about the origin of the kinship group, serving to reinforce its corporate character and identify it as a unit set apart from others. Sometimes a core of the members of a lineage group occupy a single, large dwelling, as in the Iroquois longhouse or the large communal dwellings of the Tupinambá of the tropical forests of eastern Brazil. Or they may live in several homes grouped closely together. The degree to which unilineal groups manifest corporate qualities varies in different societies. The Chippewa, for example, had clans, but they were not strongly corporate groups like the clans of the Hopi. But the potentiality for the

⁴ In his *Social Structure*, Murdock uses the word *clan* for quite a different social unit and uses the word *sib* for what is here called clan. The usage followed here is a traditional one in British and American social anthropology.

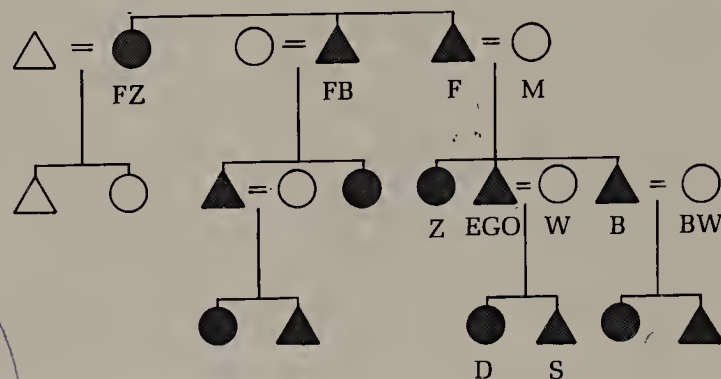


Diagram showing persons related through patrilineal descent

Note: B is Ego's brother; Z his sister. F is Ego's father; FB is his father's brother; FZ is his father's sister. M is Ego's mother. S and D are son and daughter.

development of corporate features is inherent in unilineal kinship systems. This may be why unilineal systems are so common among the societies of the world, numbering about 60 percent of the societies in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample." Unilineal systems are often found in horticultural and agricultural societies in which land rights are held by kin groups.

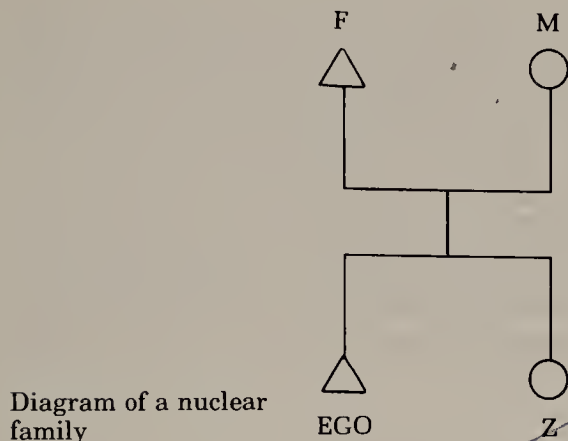
Patrilineal Descent

When unilineal descent is traced in the male line, we speak of patriliney, or patrilineal descent. In this case, one belongs to one's father's clan, not to one's mother's clan. This is illustrated in the accompanying diagram. In kinship charts like the one presented here, a triangle designates a male and a circle represents a female. An equal sign indicates a marriage. Siblings, brothers, and sisters are linked by a bar. *Ego*, from the Latin word for "I," is the person from whom the relationships are reckoned.

One's patrilineal kinsmen include one's father's father and his siblings (brothers and sisters), one's father and his siblings, the children of one's father's brothers, one's own brothers and sisters, and the children of one's brothers. Patriliney affiliates a person with kinsmen related to him through males only.

The majority of societies having unilineal descent are patrilineal. They range from hunting-gathering societies, such as the Chippewa, to advanced civilizations, like that of traditional China. Most of India, except for parts of the south, has patrilineal descent. Patrilineal American Indians included some Siouan-speaking and Algonquian-speaking tribes. There are many patrilineal tribes in East Africa, among the Nagas of Nagaland in India, and among tribes in New Guinea.

Incidentally, it may be noted that there is another way of diagramming kinship relations than the one given on this page. Another system



is shown above. Students are likely to encounter both of these kinds of diagrams in works on anthropology. In the second system a husband and wife are connected by a bar beneath the symbols, while brother and sister are linked by a bar above them.

This diagram shows Ego's relationship to his parents and sister. In this chapter the first system of diagramming kinship relations will be used henceforth, rather than the latter.

Matrilineal Descent

Matriliny, or matrilineal descent, affiliates a person with kinsmen related to him through females only. In this case, one belongs to one's mother's, not one's father's, clan. One's matrilineal relatives include one's mother's mother and her siblings, one's mother and her siblings, the children of one's mother's sisters, one's own brothers and sisters, and the children of one's sisters.

This system of descent is relatively restricted in range. Only about 15 percent of the societies in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample"

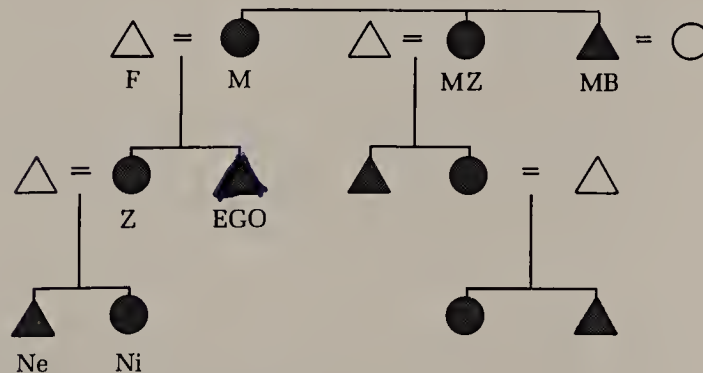


Diagram showing persons related through matrilineal descent

Note: Ne is nephew; Ni is niece.

are matrilineal. Among American Indians the Navaho, Hopi, Zuni, Hidatsa, Crow, Cherokee, Iroquois, Tlingit, and Haida were matrilineal. So are the people of Truk and the Trobriand Islands. The Nayar, Tiyyar, and Mappilla of Kerala in southwestern India follow matrilineal descent, as do the Minangkabau of Indonesia. In Africa the Ashanti, the Plateau Tonga, the Bemba, and the Yao have matrilineal descent. Another possible way of tracing descent is through *double descent*, a combination of the patrilineal and matrilineal principles. In this system the individual belongs to both his father's patrilineal group and his mother's matrilineal group.

Phratries and Moieties

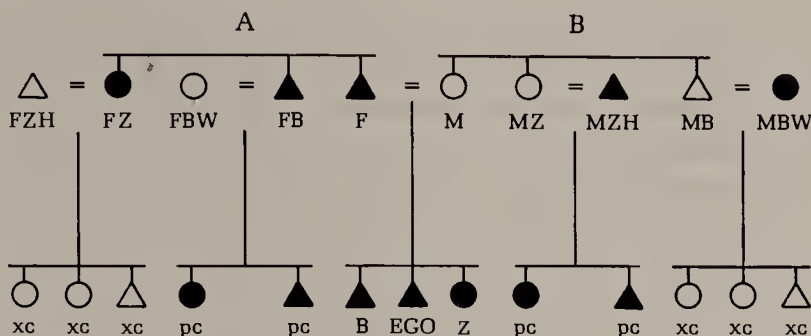
In some societies two or more clans are linked together to form a *phratry*. The member clans may feel that they have particularly close ties with the other clan or clans of the phratry. They may perform reciprocal services on ceremonial occasions. Sometimes, as among the Hopi of Arizona, the phratry is an exogamous unit, so that one may not marry members of the other clans within the phratry.

In some societies the clans form two groups in which each group is called a *moiety*. These societies are usually exogamous; a man must marry a woman of the opposite moiety. Sometimes the moieties are associated with contrasting abstract concepts or with different phenomena of nature. The conceptual universe of the Murngin, a hunting-gathering society in northeastern Arnhem Land in Australia, is divided into a dual system in which plants, animals, stars, and people belong to either one moiety or the other. Myths and folklore supply rationalizations for the allocation of objects to particular moieties, explaining why a spear, for example, belongs to one moiety while a spear-thrower belongs to the other (Warner 1958:30). Bororo villages in eastern Brazil are divided into exogamous matrilineal moieties known as *Weak* and *Strong*. In some communities these moieties are crosscut by moieties called *Upstream* and *Downstream* (Steward and Faron 1959:386).

Dual divisions like these facilitate patterns of reciprocity, not only in relation to marriage but also in the exchange of special services. For example, members of one moiety among the Seneca performed mourning services for those of the other. Such symbolic contrasts as Right and Left and North and South serve to emphasize the complementary roles played by the two divisions.

Totemism

Similar ideas may be associated with clans or other unilineal units in some societies. Among central Australian aborigines, members of the



Two exogamous patrilineal moieties, A and B

Kangaroo clan have the idea that the remote ancestor of their clan was a kangaroo and that they have a special affinity with kangaroos. Where beliefs of this kind exist, there may be a taboo on eating the meat of the clan animal. A complex of beliefs and customs relating to such ideas is called *totemism*.

The Bondo, hill tribesmen in the state of Orissa in eastern India, have totemistic concepts relating to their moieties, Cobra and Tiger. Members of the Cobra moiety cannot kill a cobra, "for it is our brother." Similarly, members of the Tiger moiety never kill a tiger. They say, "When we go out hunting, we feel very embarrassed if we meet a tiger; we just don't know what to do and our weapons fall of their own accord from our hands. The tiger also feels awkward and goes away." Verrier Elwin, who recorded this statement, adds, "But I suspect a certain apprehension on the part of the Bondo that, while he himself may be strictly orthodox, the tiger may not be equally observant of the rules" (Elwin 1950:29).

Segmentary Lineage Systems

Unilineal descent is of particular importance in societies with *segmentary lineage systems*, such as the Tiv of Nigeria, the Nuer of the Sudan, and the Bedouins of Cyrenaica. These are patrilineal tribes lacking centralized political organization. The segments that make up the society are not ranked in a hierarchy but are roughly equivalent duplicates of one another. In these "tribes without rulers," as they have been called, the lineage is a political unit, having collective responsibility in blood vengeance; a good deal of feuding goes on between lineage groups.

Unilineal systems are normally in process of segmentation. Two brothers of one family may become the heads of two new lineages. They usually remain close allies, however, and one will come to the aid of the other if he is attacked. Usually, one's sense of loyalty is greatest to those kinsmen most closely related, although one may also acknowledge ties to more distant kin. Feuds are more common and more

bitterly fought with more remote kinsmen, but in case of attack from without the tribe, feuding kinsmen will unite against the outsiders. When a quarrel breaks out between two segments, closely related groups are apt to be drawn into the affair on both sides, for there is no organized political machinery for dealing with internal conflicts. The normal tendency in such societies is toward a kind of social atomism. Political consolidation occurs only to meet a threat from outside the tribe, and once that danger is over, the atomistic condition is resumed.

The Tiv are conscious of their tribal unity through descent from a common ancestor, and this awareness enables them to make common cause against another tribe when that is necessary.

In societies of this type the lineages should have roughly equal status, but there are also societies with more political centralization in which one lineage, that of the king or chief, is more important than the others.

Affinal Ties

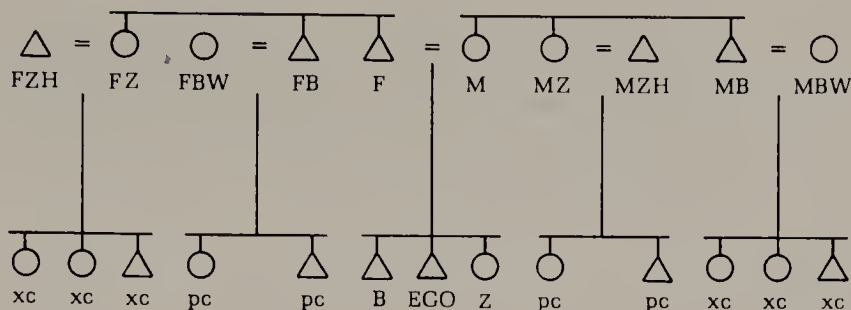
So far we have dealt with kinship ties determined by consanguinity. But kinship ties are also achieved through marriage. Indeed, for Claude Lévi-Strauss (1969a) these are the most significant relations in human societies. According to Lévi-Strauss, men in primitive societies brought about alliances through marrying their daughters or sisters to other men. The resulting network established social cohesion, tying families or bands more closely together. This was probably a necessary strategem in hunting-gathering days, when the use of weapons, unknown to nonhuman primates, heightened the potential dangers of strange groups.

Cross-Cousin Marriage

A widespread form of marriage that links small family groups together is cross-cousin marriage. It is found among many peoples in southern India, in parts of China and Melanesia, and among many tribes of Australian aborigines, African tribal groups, and North American Indians.

The kinship system of the Western world does not distinguish between cross cousins and parallel cousins, but the distinction is important in many of the world's kinship systems since it may designate which cousins are marriageable and which are not. In defining these types of cousins, it is useful to use the word *sibling*, which is a general term for brother or sister, without specifying the sex. Parallel cousins, then, are children of siblings of the same sex, while cross cousins are

Kinship chart showing cross and parallel cousins



children of siblings of opposite sex. In other words, a man's parallel cousins are his father's brother's children and his mother's sister's children; they are children of siblings of the same sex. A man's cross cousins are his father's sister's children or his mother's brother's children; they are children of siblings of opposite sex.

It is quite common for parallel cousins, such as father's brother's children, to be equated with siblings and termed "brother" and "sister," while quite different terms are employed for cross cousins.

Parallel-Cousin Marriage

The Tswana of South Africa practice cross-cousin marriage. They regard marriage with a mother's brother's daughter as the preferred form, while marriage with a father's sister's daughter is a second choice. But the Tswana are unusual in also practicing marriage with a father's brother's daughter or a mother's sister's daughter. Members of this tribe are divided into nobles and commoners. I. Schapera has pointed out that there is a difference in the incidence of marriage types in these two social strata. Fifty percent of the commoners practice matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (marriage with a mother's brother's daughter), with roughly equal distributions in the other three brackets. But nearly 48 percent of the nobles have father's brother's daughter marriage. The Tswana have a proverb, "Child of my father's younger brother, marry me, so that the (*bogadi*) cattle may return to our kraal." This suggests an economic motivation in such marriages. Schapera, however, believes that the main motive in the upper class is not the acquisition of cattle but maintenance of status and political advantages within the family (Schapera 1950:151, 157, 163).

Marriage with a father's brother's daughter is a widespread form of alliance among Muslims in North Africa, the Near East, Pakistan, and India, having Islamic religious support. Among some Arab peoples, if a family wishes to marry their daughter to someone other than her father's brother's son, the cousin must be handsomely paid for his

permission. Among the Arabs, as among the Tswana, marrying among close kin may serve to conserve property and status, and it may also maintain family solidarity among pastoral tribesmen such as the Bedouins, who have to be ready to defend themselves against sudden attack from other groups.

Fictive Kinship

We have considered kinship relations through birth (consanguine) and through marriage (affinal). There is another way in which persons may be related—through adoption or fictive kinship.

The godparent is an important figure in many societies. In Latin America the institution of *compadrazgo* not only provides a child with a godparent but also establishes mutual ties between the co-parents, or *compadres*.

Patterns of “blood brotherhood” or institutionalized friendship are found in some societies. Among the Jimdars of eastern Nepal two men or two women may go through a simple ceremony that commits the partners to a quasi-familial relationship. This brings about incest barriers between a man and members of his friend’s family, and an avoidance relationship develops between the man and his friend’s wife.

Summary

All human societies are structured in more complex ways than the societies of nonhuman primates, since human groups have languages that include kinship terms for particular relatives and terms for different grades of age and status.

The basic social units in most societies are families. A family is a social group whose members usually live together and engage in economic cooperation; it normally includes two or more adults of both sexes who are responsible for rearing and educating the children of the group. The family has various functions—as a sexual and reproductive unit and as a source of status, security, and emotional satisfaction for its members. Incest taboos forbid sexual relations within the family between parents and children or between siblings. Some such taboos are found in all societies.

There are four types of family in terms of the numbers of spouses involved: *monogamy*, with one man and one woman; *polygyny*, with one man and more than one woman; *polyandry*, with one woman and more than one man; and *group marriage*, with more than one man and more than one woman. Monogamy and polygyny are the two most common forms of marriage.

Two kinds of secondary marriage are the *levirate*, in which a widow is expected to marry one of her dead husband's brothers, and the *sororate*, in which a widower is expected to marry one of his dead wife's sisters. Both are widespread institutions, found in many societies.

Persons related through birth or descent are *consanguine* relatives; persons related through marriage are *affinal* relatives. In our society we have *bilateral* descent, meaning that we are equally related to the mother's and father's people. This is a widespread pattern in many societies at different levels of technology. *Unilineal* descent relates members through descent from a common ancestor or ancestress, as in a lineage or clan. If the line is traced through males, we speak of *patrilineal* descent. If it is traced through females, we speak of *matrilineal* descent. Unilineal systems are often found in horticultural and agricultural societies in which land rights are held by kin groups. The majority of societies having unilineal descent are patrilineal.

Some societies are divided into two exogamous groups known as *moieties*. It is very common for such groups to have contrasting symbolic associations—Right versus Left, Sky versus Land, and so forth. In some societies *totemistic* ideas are related to clans, involving beliefs in a spiritual relationship with the animal from which the clan is descended, sometimes including a taboo on eating the flesh of the totem animal.

A widespread form of marriage that links small family groups together is *cross-cousin* marriage, a system in which a man should marry a father's sister's daughter or a mother's brother's daughter but not a *parallel cousin* such as a mother's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter. A preference for parallel-cousin marriage (with a father's brother's daughter) exists among Muslims in North Africa, the Near East, Pakistan, and India.

Kinship relations are not always based on biological relationship or on marriage. There is also adoptive or *fictive* kinship, which incorporates an outsider into a kinship network.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A good, brief introductory essay is provided by Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Family," in *Man, Culture, and Society*, ed. Harry L. Shapiro (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 261-85.

Three good books on the family, each having much cross-cultural data, are: Ruth Nanda Anshen, ed., *The Family: Its Function and Destiny* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); Stuart A. Queen, Robert W. Habenstein, and John B. Adams, eds., *The Family in Various Cultures* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1961); William N. Stephens, *The Family in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963).

A good analysis of polygynous family systems in Africa is Remi Clignet,

Many Wives, Many Powers: Authority and Power in Polygynous Families (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

An insight into the workings of a polygynous household may be obtained from a collection of life histories in Edward H. Winter, *Beyond the Mountains of the Moon: The Lives of Four Africans* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959). See also Edward H. Winter, *Bwamba: A Structural-Functional Analysis of a Patrilineal Society* (Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons, 1956). Also recommended is the novel by anthropologist Elenore Smith Bowen, *Return to Laughter* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964). The best general survey of polyandry is H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, *A Study of Polyandry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963). A classic early ethnographic account of a particular polyandrous society is W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London: Macmillan, 1906).

Two paperback books provide brief introductions to the study of kinship: Roger M. Keesing, *Kin Groups and Social Structure* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975); and Burton Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

A good general work is Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967).



Marital Residence and Male-Female Relations

A newly married couple has to set up residence somewhere. There are different customs concerning this in different societies, which may be influenced by whether the kinship system is patrilineal, matrilineal, or bilateral. Marriage involves relationships with affinal relatives or in-laws. Especially in patrilineal societies, payment may have to be made to members of the wife's lineage to compensate for her loss. Some matrilineal societies have this custom too—for example, the Trobriand Islanders. Various ways of handling these matters have been developed in different societies.

Economic Exchanges in Relation to Marriage

In many societies a girl leaves her own community when she gets married and goes to live with her husband's people. Her own lineage group thus loses a useful worker. The groom's lineage may make up this deficiency by marrying one of its daughters into the other group, thus evening matters and further strengthening mutual ties.

Sometimes payment is made by the groom or by his family to the girl's family at the time of marriage. Although this is called "bride price," it is not purchase; the girl is not considered a slave or a marketable commodity. (For this reason, the term *bridewealth* is sometimes used instead in ethnographic accounts.) Rather, the payment is a



Young Indian mother.
*Ira Kirschenbaum/
Stock, Boston*

kind of restitution to the girl's family for the loss they have incurred. The payment is also a kind of insurance that the girl will be well treated. If she is not, she may return to her parents, and her husband is often unable to get the bride price back, especially if it is felt that he is to blame for the breakup.

In many African tribes that have cattle, the traditional medium of "payment" is cows. The cows are used by the girl's family to finance the marriage of one of their sons. A boy who wants to marry may have to wait until his sister's bride price has been paid and the cattle have been driven into the kraal.

Sometimes a man cannot acquire enough wealth to pay the bride price. In some societies where such problems have come up, an institutionalized solution is at hand, namely, bride service or suitor service. The young man goes to the home of the girl and works for her parents, as Jacob worked for Rachel in the Old Testament. This practice is found in many societies, for example among the Reindeer Chukchee of Siberia and the Kaska Indians of British Columbia. Since the young man lives with the girl's family in such cases, he is more or less her husband from the beginning.

In some societies payments go the other way—from the bride's family to the groom's. In present-day India the bride's parents pay a sum of money to the groom, despite the fact that their daughter leaves her community and moves to her husband's paternal residence. The dowry is particularly high in the case of young men who have studied in England and who are therefore thought to have promising futures.

Even in small rural villages the dowry paid by the bride's parents may represent the savings of many years. Families often go into debt on this account.

Forms of Marital Residence

The possible forms of postmarital residence are rather limited; a newly married couple can live alone, with the man's relatives, or with the woman's relatives, or they can shuttle back and forth between her family and his. There are some other possible arrangements and combinations, but there is a limitation of possibilities for the options.

In many societies there is a dominant or usual form of marital residence, as in some examples that follow. But there may be differences in residence in different segments of a population, as in a heterogeneous, modern, industrial society.

Neolocal Residence

The custom we are familiar with in the United States is for the newly married couple to set up a separate home, living with neither the husband's nor the wife's parents. This is called *neolocal* residence. It is consistent with the bilateral emphasis in American kinship and with our traditions of individualism, romantic love, and individual choice in the selection of a mate. It is a useful pattern in a highly industrialized society like ours, since it permits much individual mobility. This form of residence is associated with a small conjugal family having rather weak ties to the relatives of either husband or wife. It is a rare form of residence among the societies of the world, being found in only 27 of the 565 societies in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample."

Patrilocal Residence

The custom whereby a bride goes to live with or near her husband's patrilineal kinsmen is called *patrilocal* residence.¹ This is far more common than neolocal residence, being found in 314 societies in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample." It is also more common than

¹ I have followed Murdock's terms for residence, as set forth in his "World Ethnographic Sample" (1957). The terms *virilocal* and *uxorilocal* are sometimes used to have the same meanings as *patrilocal* and *matrilocal*, respectively. Sometimes a distinction is made so that the latter terms are used for societies having localized lineages, while *virilocal* and *uxorilocal* are applied to those that lack them. Only a few of Murdock's categories of marital residence are presented here.

matrilocal residence, to be described later, which is found in eighty-four societies, and *avunculocal* residence, which is found in only eighteen societies (Stephens 1963:133).

To give an example of arrangements relating to patrilocal residence, let us consider conditions in northern India, where patrilineal descent is followed. In northern India marriages are arranged by parents. The bride and groom usually have not met before the first wedding ceremonies, for the bride does not come from the same village as the groom. A man must marry a girl from another village. Indeed, in some parts of northern India one must marry outside a complex of about twenty villages. Marriage is not completed all at once, in one ceremony, but involves various stages drawn out over a period of about three years. In the first years of marriage the bride still spends a lot of time in her native village, but as time goes on, she comes to spend more and more time in her husband's community, which before long becomes her main place of residence. There, she lives with her husband in his parents' home. If he has married brothers, they and their wives and children all share the same joint household. A young bride in such a household must show great respect to her father-in-law and to her husband's older brothers, covering her face with her veil in their presence. They rarely exchange conversation. She is freer in the presence of her husband's younger brothers. Among the Jats, who allow leviratic marriages, a joking relationship exists between a man and his older brothers' wives.

Matrilocal Residence

Matrilocal residence involves residence of the married couple with or near the wife's female matrilineal kinsmen. This is the custom among the Hopi Indians of Arizona, who have matrilineal clans. The Hopi have individual courtship before marriage, and there is a good deal of premarital intercourse. The boys visit girls at night in their homes but leave before dawn. If a girl becomes pregnant, she names the boy she wants to marry, and a match is arranged. Marriages are monogamous. The Hopi girl continues to live in the household into which she was born. This household includes her parents, her unmarried brothers, her sisters, and their husbands and children. In the north Indian household it is the bride who must adjust to her in-laws; among the Hopi it is the groom who must adapt himself. However, their situations are not the same. The Indian bride is a stranger in her husband's village, while the Hopi groom normally comes from the same community. He courted his wife and knew her and her relatives before marriage. His mother's home, which he continues to visit, is apt to be in the same village; so he is less isolated than the bride in north India, and he enjoys a higher status.

The Hopi woman's status is also high, however, since she, or her clan, owns the house and fields where the men work. The husband's status in this home is weakened by the fact that his wife's brothers and other maternal kinsmen have important roles in authority and decision making.

Avunculocal Residence

Residence of a married couple with or near the husband's male matrilineal kinsmen, particularly his mother's brother, is called avunculocal residence. The Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia provide an example. Most Trobriand Islanders are monogamous. Descent is traced matrilineally. There is individual courtship and much premarital intercourse, although some of the higher-status families arrange patrilateral cross-cousin marriages for their sons, marriage with a father's sister's daughter. Such marriages, arranged in infancy, are considered binding. Otherwise, most Trobriand marriages are the outcome of courtship. At the time of marriage, or soon thereafter, the husband leaves the village of his father, where he has grown up, and moves to a village owned by his mother's subclan, where his mother's brother lives. From the point of view of the bride, Trobriand postmarital residence may be said to be virilocal, residence at the husband's home or community. But it is classed as avunculocal because of the husband's shift to his maternal uncle's village.

In a matrilineal society the mother's brother is an important figure, since he belongs to Ego's lineage or clan. Property and titles are inherited from him rather than from the father, who does not belong to Ego's lineage or clan. Among the Trobriand Islanders the maternal uncle is the principal authority figure, a source of discipline. It is the maternal uncle who teaches his nephew the traditions of his clan.

We find residential customs like those of the Trobriand Islanders among the matrilineal Tlingit of the American Northwest Coast. Among the Tlingit a boy left his home at around the age of eight to ten and moved to the house of his maternal uncle, who was responsible for the boy's training. This type of residence resembles the patrilocal residence of patrilineal societies in the sense that it maintains in association some male kinsmen who belong to the same unilineal group. Avunculocal residence would seem to give the husband a stronger position in the household than is the case in matrilocal residence.

Other Forms of Residence

Bilocal residence involves either patrilocal or matrilocal residence with about equal frequency. This is a matter of choice, depending on

the relative advantages offered by the two households. In some societies a married couple starts off living with the bride's parents or in their community and later moves to live permanently in the home or community of the husband. Murdock calls this shifting kind of residence *matrilineal*.

The Islanders of Dobu in Melanesia had a combination of matrilineal and avunculocal residence. Their society has been described by Reo F. Fortune in *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932), but they are best known from Ruth Benedict's synopsis of that work in Chapter 5 of her *Patterns of Culture* (1934). A Dobuan married couple lives in alternate years in the villages of the husband's and wife's lineages. For one year the husband is an unwelcome outsider in his wife's village; in the next year she is an unwelcome outsider in his; then they return to her village; and so on, year after difficult year. The fact that this arrangement is difficult is suggested by the high divorce rate, which Fortune found to be five times as frequent as among the Manus, another Melanesian tribe in which he worked. It does not follow, of course, that all people practicing such shifting patterns of residence must be miserable.

Many societies cannot be said to have any one particular type of marital residence. For example, the Dogrib Indians, hunting people in northwestern Canada, have many options; marrying either within or without the band, living with the parents of either husband or wife or with a brother of the husband, and so on. Many changes in residence may occur over a period of time. June Helm, who has described this fluid pattern, states that it also occurs in other hunting societies such as the Nambikwara of the Matto Grosso of Brazil, the !Kung Bushmen, and some Australian tribes (Helm 1968).

Determinants of Marital Residence

Why does a society come to prefer one form of residence over others? Many considerations must be involved. It has been argued that there is a stress on patrilineal residence in the case of hunting-gathering societies, where there is a premium on a man's knowing the hunting area where he, his father, and his brothers have hunted. Patrilineal residence also keeps together males who have grown up together and learned to defend themselves against outside attack. For reasons such as these, the claim has been made that all hunting-gathering societies in the past were patrilineal (Service 1962). This view is no longer generally held. As we have seen, there are hunting societies like the Dogrib and !Kung Bushmen that have no one consistent pattern of marital residence. This does not seem to be an aberrant modern

development; the flexibility of such a system would have had advantages in the past as well as now (Lee and De Vore 1968:7-8).

Any aspect of a society's economy that enhances male status or favors male cooperation would seem, nevertheless, to strengthen the chances of patrilocal residence. Thus, pastoralism favors patrilocality; so does plough agriculture. Conditions favoring matrilocal residence would be those that foster cooperative work among women in gathering, fishing, or horticulture. The absence of herds and other forms of property associated with males and a low degree of political organization also seem to give weight to the matrilocal side. According to Kathleen Gough (1961:560), "Avunculocal residence seems most likely to occur where the descent group jointly owns an estate of relatively high productivity, in relation to which the products of the men require redistribution, and their labor, regular coordination, on the part of an authority." Neolocal residence seems to be favored by factors that result in the isolation of the conjugal family and strengthen monogamy. An emphasis on individual private property and personal freedom would have the same result. Bilocal residence may be favored by migratory habits and appear in societies where the sexes have relatively equal status. The foregoing suggestions are largely hypothetical, since residence rules in most societies are very old and one cannot see them in process of formation.

Some Possible Determinants of Kinship Forms

It seems reasonable to suppose that kinship systems with patrilineal descent developed as a result of patrilocal residence. In such cases, the men form a permanent corporate group; the women are marrying-in outsiders. Pastoralism, warfare, and political centralization have probably contributed to patrilineality as well as to patrilocality.

Matriliney, on the other hand, has probably developed from matrilocal residence. Matriliney often seems to be related to horticulture at a low level of productivity. Except in the case of some groups in southern India, the Minangkabau of Indonesia, and a few other societies, matriliney is not found in areas having plough agriculture and extensive agricultural works.

Problems Involved in Matriliney and Matrilocality

Since patriliney and patrilocality have a much higher incidence than matriliney and matrilocality, there seem to be some inherent disadvantages in the latter institutions. Perhaps marrying-in males who are outsiders from different communities form a less effective team for

cooperation and defense than members of a patrilineal lineage who have grown up together. On the other hand, Kalervo Oberg (1955:481) has argued that matrilocality provides for effective mobilization of manpower among lowland tribes in South America. A man gets economic assistance from his sons-in-law; but his sons, who marry into nearby villages, can also be called upon for help when needed. If the sons remained at home and the daughters married out, the sons-in-law could be called upon for help, but their ties to him would be weaker. Of course, the advantages of the matriloal system depend upon the villages being rather close to one another.

Authority is usually in the hands of males. In patrilineal societies there is consistency in the tracing of descent and the exercise of authority by men. In matrilineal societies, however, there is some discontinuity. Marrying-in males do not have much authority in the wife's lineage, and, initially, at any rate, are placed in a position of relative inferiority. But a girl in northern India, trained to be submissive, is more easily kept in her inferior status than a marrying-in male in a matrilineal society. This creates some strain and tension for men in the latter case. Perhaps it is not surprising that a high rate of divorce has been reported from some matrilineal, matriloal societies, such as the Hopi and the Minangkabau. Max Gluckman (1950:190) has suggested that patrilineal tribes in Africa tend to have lower divorce rates than matrilineal or bilateral tribes.² Strong conjugal ties between husband and wife are probably more compatible with patrilineal than with matrilineal systems.

Matrilineal societies face other problems. If a woman gets married and moves to her husband's community, her kinfolk have to find ways to maintain control over her children. Authority is divided between her brothers and her husband. But if there is matriloal residence and her husband moves to her community, her brothers move out upon their marriages. Either way, it is difficult to secure discipline for the children from the maternal uncles (A. I. Richards 1950:246). If the clans have political functions, it may be harder for the male members of the clan to get together. These dilemmas are less pressing if the husband's and wife's families live near one another, as among the Hopi. The problem facing a matrilineal family group or lineage is how to maintain control over both its male and female members. In patrilineal, patriloal societies females are lost to the group, but this is less of a disadvantage since they are not needed to fill authority roles, while men must fill such roles in matrilineal societies.

² The same point has been made for Indonesia (Loeb 1935:68ff.). David M. Schneider (1961:16) has observed: "The institutionalizing of very strong, lasting, or intense solidarities between husband and wife is not compatible with the maintenance of matrilineal descent groups."

Male-Female Relations

The various forms of family organization that have been reviewed represent different ways of combining males and females, parents and children. In many of these systems men seem to have higher status than women, while women have higher status in some arrangements than in others.

In most societies men carry out occupational and political roles that are conceived to be more important than those of women. At present, there are women's movements that protest against the condition of male dominance. Others defend male dominance as a natural state of affairs resulting from the biological differences between men and women. A variant of this viewpoint is that male dominance stems from the long period during which human beings lived by hunting and gathering. It is argued that the greater strength of males gave them leadership positions in hunting and in defense of the group. Women were tied to the home base by the demands of childbirth, suckling, and child rearing. They consequently engaged in such domestic tasks as cooking, fetching food and water, making clothing, and bringing up children. Although this was clearly essential work, women's tasks carried less prestige than the activities of men. Our culture today seemingly retains traces of our long hunting-gathering heritage in these respects.

While there are myths in some societies about a former state of matriarchy, in which women were dominant and held political power, anthropologists have found no society in which women actually control the political system. Men seem to have always been dominant in the political sphere, despite the occasional appearance of a Golda Meir or an Indira Gandhi. Although queens have reigned, their advisers have usually been male counselors; their generals and soldiers were males.

In opposition to those who hold male dominance to be natural and inevitable are those who consider it to be essentially arbitrary, not supportable by the biological distinctions between the sexes or past cultural conditions. One way to approach this subject is through a comparison with other primate species.

Primate Comparisons: Dominance and Aggression

Some primate species, particularly terrestrial ones, are marked by *sexual dimorphism*, differences in size and strength between males and females. In such species males are generally dominant over females, and in multimale groups some males are often dominant over others. Dominant animals display more aggression, win most of the fights, and have priority in access to food, sexual relations, or other advan-



Indira Gandhi.
 Umberto Guidotti,
Elle-Scoop, Trans-
 world Feature
 Syndicate

tages of limited availability. Male primates generally show more aggression than females. This is true of our closest primate relatives, the chimpanzees. It is adult chimp males that kill animals of other species, although this is a relatively uncommon practice.

Juvenile male primates engage in more rough-and-tumble play than do juvenile females. The sexual distinction in such behavior is probably influenced, though not completely determined, by the action of endocrine glands. This is suggested by laboratory experiments in which the male sex hormone testosterone was administered to pregnant female rhesus monkeys. Their "masculinized" female offspring showed more threatening behavior and rough-and-tumble play than did an untreated control group of females (Young, Goy, and Phoenix 1964). Experiments have been carried out in various animal species to change the structure of a group's dominance hierarchy by administering male hormones to its more submissive members. Thus, for example, when ringdoves ranking lowest in a pecking order were injected with male hormones, they rose to the highest positions in the dominance hierarchy (Hinde 1974:255; Ardrey 1970:113).

Both men and women have both male and female hormones in their systems, but a man secretes 2-2.5 times as much of the male hormone as a woman does. Women have a more variable endocrine balance. "At times, a normal woman may produce even less of the female hormone than an average man does, but at other times her production shoots up to much more than ten times as much" (Scheinfeld 1947:134). Since the



Boys fighting. Jack
Prelutsky/Stock,
Boston

endocrine glands form an interconnected system, it would be oversimplified to relate the male hormone directly to aggression. Besides, the term *aggression* is often used loosely, sometimes to cover all expressions of self-assertion.

Cross-Cultural Studies of Aggression

In some cross-cultural studies of child rearing it has been noted that boys are generally encouraged to be more self-reliant and aggressive, while girls are trained to be more dependent and nurturant (Barry, Bacon, and Child 1957; Whiting and Edwards 1973). It seems likely that biological reasons underlie the divergent training patterns that direct boys and girls toward these different goals.

Ronald P. Rohner examined data from 101 societies and found, as usual, that boys were invariably more aggressive than girls. In none of the societies were girls said to be more aggressive than boys. However, Rohner also found that the amount of aggression varied considerably from one society to another and that the level of aggression in one sex within a society tended to approximate that of the other sex, although boys always showed at least slightly more aggression than girls. Among the Chenchu of southern India, for example, the ethnographer never saw any quarrels or show of bad temper among the children within a six-week period. In a Colombian village in South America, on the other hand, constant displays of aggression among both boys and girls were observed. The level of aggression, then, is obviously influenced by general sociocultural conditions (Rohner 1976).

There are some societies in which differences between males and females are not greatly emphasized; there are others in which such

differences are stressed. In the latter group fall societies in which large animals are hunted and pastoral societies in which large animals are herded. In both cases, male roles must be distinguished from female ones; correspondingly different training practices are therefore developed for boys and girls.

The following sections of this chapter present features of societies having different patterns of subsistence: hunting-gathering, horticultural, agricultural, and industrial societies.

Hunting-Gathering Societies

The argument that male dominance stems from our long hunting past has been advanced by such male writers as Lionel Tiger, Robin Fox, and Robert Ardrey. Tiger and Fox believe that there is a natural and universal tendency, which they call *male bonding*, for men to form cooperative groups that exclude women. Male bonding first developed during mankind's hunting phase, when territoriality and defense of the group became vital concerns (Tiger and Fox 1971; Ardrey 1976).

A contrasting view of human evolution has been offered by two female anthropologists, M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies (1975), who claim that in foraging (hunting-gathering) societies women are economically dominant and have a status equal to that of males. The basis for this contention is that in over two-thirds of the foraging societies in a sample of ninety, hunting provides only 30–40 percent of the diet. Gathering by women is therefore the mainstay of such a society. The authors admit that the recently studied groups that make up their sample are marginal peoples who do not have the rich game resources enjoyed by our Paleolithic forebears, but they claim that there is no evidence that the hunting-to-gathering ratio has been significantly altered. Naturally, no evidence for that is available from the remote past. Martin and Voorhies fail to mention an important consideration: the likelihood that there was much less gathering of plant foods in the days before cooking was developed. Plant foods of any caloric value generally need to be cooked before they can be digested by human beings, and many plants are poisonous in the raw state (Leopold and Ardrey 1972).

There is evidence of the use of fire in southern France 750,000 years ago and in northern China by 500,000 years ago, but fire may not have been used for cooking plants until a considerably later period, when adequate containers were made. A few million years of foraging preceded such an invention. Early humans must have collected fruits, nuts, seeds, and edible roots and shoots, but much of the plant food now consumed by marginal foragers was not yet utilizable. This is not to

deny the claim that the sexes generally have an egalitarian, complementary relationship in hunting-gathering societies. Ernestine Friedl has noted that in such societies each sex controls resources and services required by the other and both men and women enjoy a good deal of autonomy. On the other hand, male hunters often control extra-domestic exchanges of meat, which gives them some additional authority and prestige. According to Friedl (1975:31-32), dominance is least and equality between the two sexes is greatest in societies, such as the Washo of the Great Basin of North America, where men and women share the same subsistence tasks. Male dominance is greatest in societies, such as the Eskimo, where hunting is almost the sole source of food. Yet even in traditional Eskimo society there seems often to have been a complementary, mutually dependent relationship between the sexes.

Horticultural Societies

The difficulty of generalizing about horticultural societies, which show much variability, is stressed both by Friedl and by Martin and Voorhies, but both studies make some general statements. Martin and Voorhies (1975) claim that in a worldwide sample of 515 horticultural societies women dominate cultivation activities in about 41 percent of the societies. In only 22 percent of the societies are men the exclusive cultivators. In societies where the two sexes contribute equally (37 percent), the men usually have the responsibility of clearing the garden plots, while the women tend and harvest the crops. As dependency on crops increases, so does the role of men in cultivation.

Although the range is great, most horticultural societies are small; in about 79 percent of the sample the populations are less than 400. In societies with larger populations than that, there is an increased male share in cultivation.

Despite the important economic roles of women, patrilineal kinship systems predominate in horticultural societies. Matrilineal societies make up only one quarter of the sample. Ernestine Friedl notes that warfare is endemic in many horticultural societies. That would tend to strengthen male status. Men also engage in extrafamilial food distributions, a source of prestige. Separate men's houses are found in many horticultural societies. Furthermore, polygyny occurs in 55 percent of the Martin and Voorhies sample. If several wives are busy cultivating plants, a man's wealth and prestige multiply. Hence, there are many factors that bolster the status of males in horticultural societies. On the other hand, women also have certain advantages. They often engage in trade in such societies and enjoy a good deal of

autonomy and influence, particularly in matrilineal and matrilocal systems.

Yolanda Murphy and Robert F. Murphy (1974) have focused on women's roles in a study of the Mundurucú, a South American Indian horticultural tribe located east of the upper Tapajós River in Brazil. A Mundurucú village contains from fifty to one hundred persons. The men occupy a men's house, and there are three to five dwellings where the women and children live. Houses are set in a circle grouped around a village plaza. There are two moieties, subdivided into clans; extended cross-cousin marriage is practiced. Descent is patrilineal, but residence is usually matrilocal, which results in a scattered dispersal of clansmen. Women, on the other hand, form compact, continuing groups held together by collective labor. Men's work—hunting, fishing, and formerly warfare—takes them outside the village; women's work is done within it. Although men clear the fields, women do most of the horticultural work.

A group of village women—mothers, daughters, sisters, and others—makes up a collective team for processing manioc and controls its distribution. Moreover, a woman distributes the game brought back by her husband. Women seem to have a secure position in village life. A senior woman is the acknowledged head of her dwelling. Men do not challenge her authority; they live in their separate men's house and play no role in women's domestic activities. There is little economic cooperation between husband and wife; the nuclear family is not a productive unit in this society. It is the cooperative women's group that controls production.

However, in Mundurucú ideology women are considered inferior to men. A myth recounts that women were formerly dominant and played sacred trumpets that men took away from them and now store in the men's house. The Murphys suggest that the myth expresses the men's insecurity about their own current dominance. Women are supposed to be passive and submissive; those who violate the standards are subject to mass rape by the men. The women resent this practice and do not acknowledge the male claims of superiority. Under the circumstances, it is hard to define the status of women in Mundurucú society. The men judge it to be low, but the women do not accept this definition of the situation.

Another horticultural society, in which women had a more acknowledged high status, was that of the Iroquois in the eighteenth century. Descent was matrilineal; residence was matrilocal in longhouses that contained several family units in separate compartments. An elder woman in charge of a longhouse could evict a man for misbehavior. As among the Mundurucú, women had control over the production, storage, and distribution of food. Communally owned land, inherited matrilineally, was held by the women, who also owned the farming

implements and seeds. Horticultural work was organized under the supervision of an elected female leader chosen by the women who worked together.

A council of chiefs headed the Iroquois confederacy, or League of the Iroquois. The selection of these chiefs was determined by matrons of the matrilineal clans, who could also impeach a chief whose actions met with their disapproval. Iroquois matrons had a role in council deliberations and veto power in declarations of war, for since men could not hunt while on a war party, they had to depend on dried rations provided by the women. Women also controlled such assets as wampum. Moreover, in contrast to the Mundurucú women, they played important roles in the religious life. Iroquois ideology does not seem to have pictured women as inferior. The high status of Iroquois women may be attributed to the combination of matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence, and women's control of both production and distribution (Martin and Voorhies 1975:225-28; J. K. Brown 1970).

Agricultural Societies

In agricultural societies, including peasant societies, male authority is heightened and female status is often considerably depressed. Men are usually the main cultivators, since the ploughing and irrigation connected with agriculture involve strenuous work in which male strength is clearly advantageous. Since farming is mainly men's work, polygyny ceases to be adaptive, as it was under horticulture, and this type of family becomes much less common (Martin and Voorhies 1975:288).

In a review of forty-six peasant community studies, Evalyn J. Michaelson and Walter Goldschmidt (1971) found that economic control and authority are in the hands of men. Fathers tend to be authoritative and mothers indulgent. In patrilineal families, which are common, marriages are usually arranged, and there are weak affective ties between husband and wife, although strong bonds usually develop between mother and son. A common feature of peasant life is social segregation of the sexes.

The custom of *purdah*, or seclusion of women, is found in Muslim households, primarily in cities, in Pakistan and northern India and also among many Hindus in northern India. According to the *purdah* system, a woman generally stays within special women's quarters in the home. If she leaves its confines, she must cover her face with a veil or part of her sari. The Rājpuṭs in northern India have separate houses or sleeping quarters for men and women. Husbands may visit their wives in the women's courtyard at night. Patrilocal residence is practiced. A married girl covers her face in the presence of her husband's



Turkish men in a tea house in a setting that emphasizes sexual segregation.
Christopher K. Walker/The Picture Cube

older male relatives and other visitors, and she sits at a lower level than her in-laws. Strictly speaking, she should cover her face in front of her mother-in-law and her older sisters-in-law until the birth of her first child, but since this custom involves so much inconvenience, it is often omitted. Ideally, a man and his wife should not talk to each other in the presence of older members of his family—who are usually present (Minturn and Hitchcock 1963:240–41, 266).

Sexual segregation is also practiced in rural Egyptian towns. In Silwa, in upper Egypt, women are expected to stay within the home. A woman who often leaves her house is called a strayer. Women keep to the wall when walking down the street, while men walk down the middle. If a woman should meet a man, she turns her head away or pulls her head covering over her face (Ammar 1966).

This kind of sexual segregation finds support in the Koran, where it says of women: “They should not go out of the house lest they commit a grave sin.” Therefore, a pious woman should first get her husband’s consent before leaving the house. Urban Egyptian women were generally veiled until the 1920s, when that custom was ended by a liberalizing feminist movement, but until then veiling was common in much of North Africa and the Near East.

Veiling and purdah were not practiced in precommunist China, but the position of women was comparable in many ways to that of northern Indian women, since arranged marriages, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence were customary. As in India, a young bride was



Two women—a veiled native and a foreign tourist in Jerusalem.
Bill Aron/Jeroboam

under the domination of her mother-in-law and had to be on her best behavior in her husband's family. The low status of women was expressed by the high incidence of female infanticide in traditional China. However, it seems that accounts about submissive daughters-in-law in the literature about China have given Westerners an oversimplified conception of the Chinese woman. That is suggested by the work of Margery Wolf, who gives an intimate picture of women's life in rural Taiwan. She shows that women were not just passive pawns at the mercy of a stern mother-in-law. They were not confined to walled courtyards, but spent much time washing clothes by the river, cleaning vegetables at a pump, or sewing under a tree in the company of other women. These groups formed gossip centers where a bride had an opportunity to complain about her mother-in-law's behavior. Since a mother-in-law knows about the force of local gossip, that should act as a check on her behavior. From Margery Wolf's account we learn that the women in rural Taiwan do not fit the usual stereotype. "A truly successful Taiwanese woman is a rugged individualist who has learned to depend largely on herself while appearing to lean on her father, her husband, and her son" (Wolf 1972:41).

Industrial Societies

If agricultural societies emphasize that women's place is in the home, industrialism brought women out of the home, first into factories as

machine workers and later into offices as typists and stenographers. The greater strength of males was of less significance in a factory where muscle was provided by machines; and since women's labor was cheaper than men's, it was in great demand. By 1860 one-third of all factory workers in New England were women. During the Civil War women not only became nurses and took factory jobs but also got clerical work in business offices that had formerly employed only men. After the war women became the dominant sex in teaching.

The factories that employed women often produced goods that replaced the traditional kinds of work women had done in earlier times, such as prepared cereals, canned vegetables, and factory-made clothing. The new kinds of work ultimately affected women's dress too. Long skirts were dangerous in a factory; skirts became shorter and dresses simpler after 1890 (Degler 1964).

There were over one million female factory workers by the 1890s, most of whom were young and unmarried. But married women, including those with children, increasingly sought employment, particularly during and after World War II. Between 1948 and 1967 the rate of employment for mothers of young children nearly doubled. "By 1978 only 23 percent of homes fit into the traditional stereotype husband-wife homes with men employed and no other household member in the work force" (Freeman 1980:357). In 1980 over half of U.S. women over sixteen years of age were in the work force (Encyclopedia Americana 1984:682).

Accompanying the changes in women's roles were demands for equal treatment with men. American women got the right to vote in 1920. Since then, demands have been made for equal pay and equal employment opportunities with men. Although many women are not satisfied with the advances made so far, there have been remarkable changes in these respects since World War I.

This brief review has dealt with the United States as an example of an industrial society, but comparable developments have taken place in the other industrial societies of the world. Soviet women make up more than 51 percent of the work force; 85 percent of Soviet women have full-time jobs (Fischer 1983:310-11). For several years after World War II the sex ratio was in favor of women in the Soviet Union, since so many men were killed in the war. Fifteen years after the war there were twenty million more women than men in the Soviet population. Women therefore entered professions that had formerly been dominated by men. In recent years the sex ratio has become more balanced, and men have been returning to their former positions, while women tend to engage in traditionally female professions. "In 1959 . . . only 33 percent of women were employed in 'women's' sectors, but by 1970 the figure had climbed to 55 percent" (Fischer 1983:311). There are proportionately even more female schoolteachers



In the United States, as in the Soviet Union and other industrialized countries, many women have become doctors in recent decades. *Peter Southwick/Stock, Boston*

in the USSR than in the United States (Bronfenbrenner 1970:73). Sixty-nine percent of Soviet doctors are women, but men make up more than half of the chief physicians and medical executives (Fischer 1983:311-12). In education, too, women teachers are found mainly in the lower grades (Martin and Voorhies 1975:379).

Despite the very different political systems and ideologies of Russia and the United States, there has been a good deal of convergence in the experiences of women in moving from a mainly domestic realm into factories, hospitals, schools, and other contemporary spheres of occupation.

One sometimes hears predictions that the family as an institution is on its way out, because of such discouraging indicators as the current high rate of divorce in the United States, the incidence of broken homes, the great increase of working mothers, and the practice among young couples of living together without marriage. However, the dangers that threaten the family today do not seem to be greater than those that have faced the family in some past periods of history.

In the early years of Communist rule in the Soviet Union, laws were passed to weaken the hold of the family. Abortion was legalized,

divorce was made easy, and children were encouraged to emancipate themselves from conservative parental authority. A boy called Pavlik Morozov, who denounced his own father as a collaborator with the kulaks and who was killed by the peasants of his village, was made a hero-martyr by the government, and Pioneer libraries and collective farms were named after him. Communal kitchens were built in apartment houses and collective farms to liberate women from having to prepare family meals; and nurseries were opened to take care of children while their mothers worked.

Quite apart from these government moves, the Russian family was also weakened by the uprooting of peoples, famines, and the confusions of civil war in the early years of Soviet rule. But by the mid-1930s the climate had changed and the state had begun to support the family rather than to undermine it. Official campaigns were directed against loose sexual conduct, frequent marriages, and divorce. The state even gave awards to women who had many children. A. S. Makarenko, who is sometimes called the Soviet Dr. Spock, advocated large families, arguing that an only child is apt to be spoiled, but a large family is a natural, healthy "collective." So, despite earlier attacks upon it, the family institution is still alive in the Soviet Union.

In China during the 1950s there was a drive for collectivization to the extent of seriously weakening the family unit. Collective kitchens and mess halls were expected to replace the family meal. In late 1958 there were over 200,000 mess halls in rural Kwangtung Province, with an average of about 20 mess halls in each commune and about 150 people in each mess hall (Vogel 1969:249). In the drive for collectivization, commune members had to give up the private plots that families had previously been allowed to cultivate. They also had to surrender cooking utensils, tables, and chairs for use in the mess halls. However, grain production dropped sharply in 1959, and brakes were then applied to commune development. Private plots were once again allowed, and personal possessions were returned to their owners. In contemporary China, as in the USSR, the family unit now seems to be stable. Even patrilocality has been retained, and the surname still follows the father's patrilineal line (Baker 1979:191).

Summary

The possible forms of postmarital residence are rather limited. A newly married couple can set up an independent (*neolocal*) residence; they can live with or near the husband's patrilineal kinsmen (*patrilocal* residence); live with or near the wife's female matrilineal kin (*matrilocal* residence); live with or near the husband's male matrilineal kinsmen (*avunculocal* residence); or they may alternate

between patrilocal and matrilocal residence with about equal frequency (*bilocal* residence).

Since patriliney and patrilocality have a much higher incidence than matriliney and matrilocality, there may be some inherent disadvantages in the latter institutions. Perhaps marrying-in males form a less effective team for cooperation and defense than members of a patrilineal lineage who have grown up together. High rates of divorce have also been reported for a number of matrilineal, matrilocal societies. Moreover, it is difficult to secure discipline of children by their maternal uncles, since married brothers and sisters often live in different communities.

In human societies there is a general tendency for males to have higher status than females, and in most societies men carry out occupational and political roles that are considered to be more important than those of women. One explanation for this state of affairs attributes it to the long period during which human beings lived by hunting and gathering. As hunters and defenders of the group, it is held, males acquired positions of leadership. Comparisons with non-human primate groups show that males are generally more aggressive than females and that juvenile males engage in more rough-and-tumble play than females. The same impression is gained from cross-cultural studies of aggression among human children. In the case of humans, the contrast may be attributed to hormonal and other biological differences between the sexes, to contrasting patterns of socialization for boys and girls, or to some synthesis of biological and sociocultural factors. In some societies differences between males and females are not greatly emphasized; in others they are stressed, as in many hunting and pastoral societies. Among hunting-gathering societies male dominance is greatest, such as in Eskimo society, where hunting is almost the sole source of food. There is greatest equality between the sexes in societies where men and women contribute about equally to subsistence. This kind of equality is also found in many horticultural societies, but female status tends to be depressed in agricultural societies in which men are the main cultivators. Male strength is advantageous in ploughing and irrigation. Seclusion of women, such as the Indian custom of *purdah*, is found in many agricultural societies. Industrialization, however, opened up new opportunities for work and education for women, leading to feminist demands for equal treatment with men.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Good studies of matriliney and matrilocality are available in A. I. Richards, "Some Types of Family Structure among the Central Bantu," in *African*

Systems of Kinship and Marriage, ed. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 207-51; and in the more comprehensive survey of matrilineal societies, David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, eds., *Matrilineal Kinship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961).

The question of how or to what extent males and females differ in personality is discussed in two collections of articles: Dirk L. Schaffer, ed., *Sex Differences in Personality: Readings* (Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1971); and Eleanor E. Maccoby, ed., *The Development of Sex Differences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1966).

The view that male dominance stems from the hunting tradition is presented in Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, *The Imperial Animal* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971); and also in Robert Ardrey's books, the latest of which is *The Hunting Hypothesis* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1976).

A more feminist approach to the evolution of culture is expressed in M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); and Ernestine Friedl, *Women and Men: An Anthropologist's View* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975).

Some interesting reading is provided in two collections of articles by female anthropologists: Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974); and Carolyn J. Matthiasson, ed., *Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Free Press, 1974).

For a good account of women's life in a hunting-gathering society, see Jane C. Goodale, *Tiwi Wives: A Study of the Women of Melville Island, North Australia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971). For a horticultural society, see Yolanda Murphy and Robert F. Murphy, *Women of the Forest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974). For an agricultural society, see Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972).



Growing Up in Different Societies

This chapter deals with the issues of growing up in different cultural contexts. It concerns problems such as these: How important is early childhood experience for personality formation? What happens under conditions of maternal deprivation? How divergent are child-rearing practices, and how do they relate to personality formation?

In previous chapters we have seen that human sociocultural systems may differ from one another in subsistence basis, forms of marriage, and postmarital residence. Children born into these different systems must adjust to them and learn the rules and values of the culture, whatever these may be. The adults of each society teach their own conceptions of reality to the young. Since the young generally have no alternative models to follow, they accept these teachings, identify with their parents, and strive, with varying degrees of effort and success, to approximate the ideal type of their society.

Significance of Early Childhood

Psychological schools as different as those of behaviorism and psychoanalysis place a central emphasis on the childhood years. From their points of view, the adult personality is formed mainly in childhood. The behaviorists believe that so-called instincts and emotions are

Child rearing patterns differ in different societies. This Paiute Indian woman keeps her child in a cradleboard, which allows little mobility for arms and legs during that time. But this restriction does not seem to retard motor development. The cradleboard was widely used in American Indian tribes. *Milwaukee Public Museum*



largely learned reactions. Freud, on the other hand, believed that humans, even as children, have to cope with strong instincts or drives. The ways in which these instincts are thwarted or find expression in the childhood years determine what kind of personality will develop. Behaviorism and psychoanalysis, then, have different assumptions about human nature, but they agree on the great importance of the early years, an emphasis shared by other psychological schools. This consideration underlies the work that has been done in the cross-cultural study of child development.

Maternal Deprivation

Normal human development depends upon an adequate amount of maternal care. Among human beings the absence of such a



Maternally deprived, young rhesus monkeys huddle together for compensatory close contact.
Wisconsin Primate Laboratory

relationship, without adequate substitutes, may have very severe effects upon the development of the individual. It has been argued by several writers that children suffering from maternal deprivation fail to develop normally in later years. The evidence for this, however, is conflicting, and there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes the essential deprivation from which such children suffer.

Soon after birth all primates, except for humans, cling to their mothers; they remain in close contact with their mothers throughout infancy. Harry Harlow (1962) showed that when rhesus monkeys were deprived of their mothers, they did not develop normal patterns of heterosexual behavior in later years. When deprived female rhesus monkeys were impregnated by normal male monkeys, they failed to develop maternal feelings toward their offspring and treated them with indifference or hostility. However, Harlow also found that infant monkeys who had been deprived of their mothers but allowed to

play with other young members of their species for twenty minutes a day seemed to develop normally with regard to social and sexual interaction.

Such experiments in deprivation, fortunately, are not made with human beings, but a roughly analogous trauma may be seen in cases of children who have been separated from their mothers and placed in institutions. If such a child is between fifteen and twenty months old and has had an adequate relationship with the mother before separation, it will react in a predictable manner, which John Bowlby (1969:27) has broken down into the successive, overlapping stages of protest, despair, and detachment. If the separation is sufficiently prolonged, the child will show no relief or satisfaction when the mother returns but will seem apathetic and uninterested, a condition that may persist into later years. In cases of briefer separation, a period of detachment may be succeeded by ambivalent phases of alternate rejection and demands for parental attention.

René Spitz (1945) contrasted the development of infants living in a foundling home with that of infants reared in a prison nursery. Although physical care was good in the foundling home, the infants had no close contacts with adults. In the prison nursery, however, the infants had daily sessions with their mothers. The foundling-home infants showed various emotional disturbances, states of depression, and actual physical deterioration, sometimes even leading to death. However, institutionalization does not always have such negative results. No doubt, the age of the child at the time of institutionalization, the nature of the institution, and the number and character of the caretakers all make a difference.

As was mentioned earlier, there is a difference of opinion as to what constitutes the basic deprivation from which institutionalized children suffer. Spitz believes that it is lack of mother love. Other writers, however, have argued that the basic problem is lack of stimulation. When there are many children and few caretakers, the latter do not have the time to give much personal attention or stimulation to their charges. Wayne Dennis (1960) studied the behavioral development of children in three institutions in Iran. In two of these institutions, the children were greatly retarded in many respects, including the ability to sit alone, to stand, and to walk. In the third institution, the children were not retarded in these respects. Dennis believes that the differences were due to the fact that, in the first two institutions, there was not enough handling of the children by their attendants, who did not place them in the sitting and prone positions. The children were thus not able to learn to sit up and look around but spent most of their time lying on their backs. Lack of experience in the prone position led to failure to learn to creep and to a general retardation of locomotion.

According to some studies (Morgan 1975; Clarke and Clarke 1976), the effects of maternal deprivation are not necessarily as drastic as Bowlby, Spitz, and others have made them out to be. Maternal deprivation may not be serious if other relationships remain intact—with father, grandparents, or siblings. Besides, even when there are ill effects, they can often be reversed in later years. Improvements in intelligence test performance and other measures have often been noted among adopted children, even among those adopted quite late in life, between five and twelve years of age. Even children reared in extreme isolation sometimes show rapid improvement after being moved into a better home environment.

Freudian Theory

Erik Homburger Erikson, a modified Freudian, believes that experiences in the first year of life, especially in relation to the mother, establish a sense of basic trust or else basic mistrust. This period corresponds to Freud's oral stage, when much of the child's contact with the outside world, including its mother, is channeled through the mouth and lips. If sufficient trust is acquired during the first year of life, the child moves on to a succeeding stage when, according to Erikson (1963:chap. 7), there is a conflict between the sense of autonomy and feelings of shame and doubt. This period (the second year) corresponds to Freud's anal stage, when toilet training is initiated in many societies. During this period the child develops a sense of control over himself and his environment and learns both literally and figuratively to stand on his own two feet, although he is still dependent on his parents. The years from three to five are a period of rapid physical development and locomotion, awareness of genital sensations, and the appearance of the Freudian Oedipus complex, in which attachment to the mother is combined with jealous hostility toward the father. Freud calls this period the phallic stage. It is followed by a latency period of sexual quiescence, which lasts until the coming of puberty and the attainment of genital primacy. From Freud's point of view, traumas and disappointments during this developmental sequence may lead to fixation at a particular stage or regression to an earlier one, if the trauma is sufficiently severe, thus forming neurotic or psychotic personality patterns. The child's ego is vulnerable to traumatic experiences because it is still in the process of development, not yet ready to cope with crises that it could handle easily at a later stage of maturity. Freudian interpretations of childhood psychosexual development are not accepted by everyone, but they have influenced many anthropologists in the field of psychological anthropology.

Maturation and Development

Stages of motor development in childhood may vary somewhat because of cultural factors. Thus, Balinese children do not go through a crawling phase, as American children do, because they are habitually carried about by the mother and other persons during the first year of life. Creeping on all fours is disapproved of as animal-like. Hence, Balinese children are less active than American children of that age (Mead and MacGregor 1951:42ff.).

The tempo of maturation may be affected in some respects by cultural patterns. The development of infants in Uganda is a case in point. When compared with the stage of development of European infants of the same age, all aspects of development among Uganda children during their first two years, including prehension, manipulation, adaptivity, and language development, have been reported to be "precocious." It has been stated that Uganda children can sit alone a couple of months before English children, and the same precocity is reported of crawling, standing, and walking. There may be a problem here as to whether observers of children in different countries have used the same definitions or criteria of such acts as sitting, crawling, and standing. However, Marcelle Géber, who examined 252 Uganda infants and young children in or near Kampala, believes that they manifest precocity in these respects, and she attributes it to close mother-child relationship, demand feeding, and intimate physical contact. Géber suggests that the way the child is carried on the mother's back may strengthen its ability to hold the head steady and may help the child to sit alone earlier. If so, this shows the importance of stimulating experience and close maternal contact in the child's first year of life, just as the studies of institutionalized children reveal the consequences of their absence or scarcity.

The precocity of Uganda children is less marked in their second year of life, and after three years of age Uganda children are less advanced than European children. This decline is thought to be due to the traumatic abruptness of the weaning process in Uganda and to a subsequent diminution of mother-child interaction. When another baby is born, the mother gives her full attention to the new infant and pays little attention to older children, who have few toys and play-things and engage in few organized activities. There is reported to be relatively little stimulation for Uganda children after the first year (Ainsworth 1967). Claims of precocity have been made for the children of other sub-Saharan nations besides Uganda.¹

¹ For a critical review of this literature, see Warren 1972.



Uganda baby with mother. According to some reports, Uganda babies show precocity in development in various ways, which has been attributed to the close mother-child relationship in Uganda. *Courtesy of Mary D. Ainsworth*

Child-Rearing Practices in Different Societies

In some societies the amount of mother-child contact and interaction is greater than in our own. This is true, for example, in Japan, where there is more continuous sleeping together of mother and child and more closeness in back-carrying and bathing patterns (see page 216). Comparable patterns occur in some other societies. There are societies that have a postpartum sex taboo for a year or more after the child is born; the parents then have no sexual relations, and throughout this period the child sleeps with its mother. Some writers have argued that this must establish strong dependent ties to the mother or an identification with her. A long suckling period is believed to have the same result, although that result may be countered by later experiences. Societies differ greatly in the length of the suckling period. In the United States it is generally very brief, in comparison to most other societies. In one of the earliest studies to make use of the Human Relations Area Files, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child found that in seventy-five societies the median age of weaning was two and a half.

As with the satisfaction of oral needs, it is held that personality is influenced by the manner of toilet training—whether it is instituted early or late in life and the extent to which lapses are punished. In the study just mentioned, Whiting and Child (1953) drew attention to the fact that anal training is stricter in the United States than in most of the other societies studied. Slightly over half of the primitive societies begin toilet training somewhere between the ages of one and a half and two and a half.

It is understandable that nomadic people would be less fussy about toilet training than middle-class Americans who have wall-to-wall carpeting. The nomadic Sirionó of Bolivia, for example, make little effort to teach sphincter control to their children and do not punish them for soiling. These differences in child-training patterns in different societies must have consequences for personality formation, although this has not been well documented by anthropologists. Severe toilet training in early childhood is believed to generate compulsive tendencies involving such personality traits as fussiness, pedantry, obstinacy, self-righteousness, and suspicion of others. Belief that severe toilet training leads to such traits rests on clinical evidence that some writers have rejected (Orlansky 1949) and others have accepted (Axelrad 1962). Sexual disciplines vary considerably in different societies, and this too must have different consequences in personality formation. The latency period, which Freud distinguished as a phase of childhood in which there is a loss of interest in sex, was declared by Malinowski (1953) to be missing among the Trobriand Islanders, who are very permissive in their acceptance of sex play among children.

The Alor Study

An outstanding work in culture-and-personality is *The People of Alor* (1944) by Cora Du Bois. This study not only relied upon the observation of behavior and interviews with informants but also made use of some psychological tests, particularly the Rorschach (inkblot) Test, which was given to thirty-seven subjects. Du Bois also collected children's drawings from thirty-three boys and twenty-two girls and recorded eight rather long life histories.

One innovation of this project was the procedure of "blind analysis"—submitting the projective materials to different specialists who were given no information about the culture. The Rorschachs were analyzed by a Rorschach analyst, the drawings by a drawing analyst, and the life histories by Abram Kardiner. Each specialist was required to give a general personality description of the Alórese on the basis of the material submitted. If these descriptions had turned out to differ

quite a bit from one another, one would have been inclined to doubt the validity of the methods employed. As it turned out, however, there was a good deal of congruence among the reports and agreement with the impressions of the ethnographer. This method minimized the possibility of bias and subjectivity in the personality description of the Alorese.

Emil Oberholzer, the Rorschach analyst, remarked that the Alorese were suspicious and mistrustful of one another. He concluded that they were passive and uncreative, lacking in goals that involved sustained effort. He assumed that the Alorese readily gave way to emotional outbursts, rage, and temper and that they did not have close friendships. The drawing analyst remarked that the children had a feeling of aloneness and lacked creativity. Kardiner observed that parental figures were not idealized and that superego formation was weak.

What aspects of life are responsible for this depressing picture? Kardiner and Du Bois believe that it is largely due to maternal neglect in infancy. This is a society in which the women play the main role in subsistence; they are the agriculturists, while the men busy themselves with the financial exchanges of pigs, gongs, and kettledrums. Between ten days and two weeks after the birth of a child, the mother returns to the fields to resume regular agricultural work. She does not take the baby with her to the fields, as is done in some societies, but leaves it in the care of its father, brother, sister, or grandparents. She is gone most of the day. A child may sometimes be nursed by another woman, but since such substitutes are not consistently available, the child suffers from oral deprivation. When the mother comes home in late afternoon, she offers her child the breast. According to Du Bois, frustrations become worse after the walking stage is reached. The child is no longer carried about and thus loses the constant skin contact and support previously experienced. He is fed irregularly by older siblings and others. Teasing of the child and the provoking of jealousy are practiced by mothers. Youngsters are playfully menaced by adults with knives and threats of cutting off their hands or ears.

Temper tantrums are a common aspect of Alorese childhood. They occur when the mother sets off for the fields in the morning. A child may then go into a rage and beat his head on the ground. These tantrums begin to cease around the age of five or six.

Kardiner and Du Bois find the explanation for Alorese personality traits in these childhood frustrations. Relations between men and women in adult life are strained; they average two divorces apiece. Kardiner and Du Bois believe that male-female tensions develop from the child's original ambivalence toward the mother and the male's continuing search for a nurturing mother. Since the wife cannot adequately fill this nurturant role, the frustrations persist.

Personality in the Western World

Abram Kardiner has made some broad generalizations about the basic personality structure of the Western world, which he believes has remained essentially the same for the past three thousand years (Kardiner et al. 1945:432). Kardiner says this because characters like Job and others in the Old Testament and the characters in plays of Sophocles and Shakespeare are much like ourselves. The Western basic personality structure is based on good maternal care, which makes possible a strong attachment to parents, a capacity to idealize the parents and to form a strong superego. Belief in a loving father God is associated with this. The religious concepts of Judaism and Christianity are seen as being projections of this childhood experience, which is not very different, according to Kardiner (1945:365), in different economic or social classes.

The good parental care of the Western world gives scope to investigative, constructive, and artistic capacities (Kardiner et al. 1945:451). Thus we have a syndrome antithetical to that of Alor, which is described as having a lack of interest in the outer world, in artistic creation, and in the making of shrines and effigies of the gods. Kardiner sees childhood experience and adult projection systems as having remained much the same in the Western world for three thousand years.

There are other views of the history of childhood that present quite a different picture. According to Philippe Ariès (1965), childhood was a relatively happy time in the Middle Ages in Europe, when there were no divisions of rank or ages. Children were treated as adults; they wore the same kinds of clothes and played the same games as adults. People had more leisure and spent more time with children and in sociable entertainment and play. The facts of life and death were not hidden from children. But this changed in the seventeenth century, when boys were dressed like girls and wore lace collars, although girls went on dressing like grown women. Boys were the first specialized children. They began to go to school in large numbers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, while girls' education developed much more slowly. Ariès thus sees a decline of freedom and spontaneity in childhood in Europe.

A different picture is given by Lloyd de Mause (1974:28, 32-33), another historian of childhood, who believes that the lot of children has greatly improved in the course of time. Infanticide was a regular practice in antiquity, and killing children was not considered murder in Rome until A.D. 374. Children were very tightly swaddled in medieval Europe. Wealthy parents turned infants over to wet nurses, and later they were cared for by other servants, so they spent little time

with their parents. Fosterage was a common European practice; infants were dispatched to be reared in another family, and well-to-do children were sent out to apprenticeship, monastery, or school by the age of seven. Punishments for misbehavior were severe; not until the nineteenth century did whipping go out of style.

James Bruce Ross (1974) presents a similar picture for urban Italy from the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries. Whereas a Kardinerian interpretation would see the popularity of the madonna-and-infant motif in the Italian painting of that time as representing a projection of good maternal care, the data presented by de Mause and Ross suggest a contrasting view: perhaps it was a compensation for earlier deprivation and a fantasy of the enjoyment of motherly love. The following four stages characterized the lives of middle-class urban boys in Renaissance Italy: (1) removal from mother to wet nurse, (2) return to the family after two years' absence, (3) school education at seven, and (4) apprenticeship at a bank or shop at ten to twelve. Ross (1974:216) asks this intriguing question: "How could the deprived and neglected infants of the middle classes develop into the architects of a vigorous, productive, and creative era which we call 'the Renaissance'?" However, a review of the early childhood of unusual men and women (Illingsworth and Illingsworth 1966) shows that many outstanding creative persons had most unhappy childhoods.

The Six Cultures Project

The fullest and most ambitious investigation in the cross-cultural study of childhood was undertaken by a group of scholars from Cornell, Harvard, and Yale under the direction of William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting (Whiting 1963; Minturn and Lambert 1964; Whiting and Whiting 1975). An effort was made to bring about comparability in the ethnographic reports of the six teams of investigators involved in this project. Each team spent from six to fourteen months in the field. These six communities were studied: a Gusii community in Kenya, East Africa; a Rājput community in northern India; a village in Okinawa; a town in Mexico; a barrio in the Philippines; and a New England town in the United States. Each field team, usually consisting of a husband and wife, worked in a community of between fifty and one hundred families and with a sample of twenty-four mothers, each of whom had at least one child aged three to ten years. The mothers were interviewed on a standard schedule, and the children were systematically observed and interviewed. Each team was provided with a guide, John W. M. Whiting et al., *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies* (1954).



Children are put to work early in peasant societies, as in this case in Peru, where llamas need supervision. *Ira Kirschenbaum/Stock, Boston*

The last production of the Six Cultures project was a review by Whiting and Whiting (1975), in which the authors found some consistent differences between the three culturally more complex groups (in India, Okinawa, and the United States) and the three simpler ones (in Africa, Mexico, and the Philippines). Cultural complexity was determined by such factors as the degree of occupational and religious specialization, differentiation of settlement patterns, social stratification, and political centralization. In the simpler group, children were on the whole more nurturant and responsible, in keeping with demands for cooperation and the performance of chores within the family and community. In the more complex societies, there was more schooling and also evidence of more egoism and competitiveness among the children. The simpler societies assigned more chores to children and assigned them at an earlier age. This is a general feature in many tribal and peasant societies. Bringing firewood and water, taking care of animals, doing farm work, running errands, and looking after junior siblings are common experiences in many parts of the world. Since this work represents a real contribution, the regular performance of such tasks must give many children feelings of worth, responsibility, and competence, although they must also often resent these obligations.

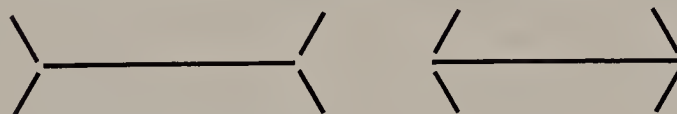
In societies with formal education, children cannot be saddled with so many chores, since they must attend school for part of the day. The more complex societies are hierarchically organized, which may encourage competitiveness and orientation toward achievement.

Whiting and Whiting (1975:128) found that “children brought up in complex cultures tended to be more dependent-dominant and less nurturant-responsible than children brought up in simpler cultures.”

The Six Cultures project has provided detailed information about how children are brought up in six different sociocultural worlds and should be amenable to analysis from various theoretical points of view. Whiting's *Field Guide* has been used by other ethnologists in the organization of their fieldwork and will undoubtedly be so used in the future, which will provide more comparable accounts of different cultures.

Culture, Cognition, and Perception

Not only is personality directed along somewhat different lines in different cultural settings, but the same is true of cognition and perception. Consider, for example, the Müller-Lyer illusion (see Figure A). The Müller-Lyer illusion is that the horizontal line to the left in Figure A looks longer than the one on the right, although it is the same length. Non-Western subjects in parts of Melanesia, South India, and Africa are less susceptible to this illusion than are Europeans and Americans. Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits (1966), who tested 1,878 persons in fourteen non-European areas and in the United States, suggest that peoples that live in a “carpentered world” and have an “experience with two-dimensional representation of reality,” as Western peoples do, are more susceptible to the Müller-Lyer illusion than are non-Western peoples. They also suggest that persons who inhabit areas with broad horizontal vistas are more likely to be subject to the horizontal-vertical illusion (Figure B) than are persons who live in restricted environments such as forests. The illusion in the latter figure is that the vertical line is longer, although both lines are equal.



A. The Müller-Lyer illusion



B. The horizontal-vertical illusion

While the data amassed by Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits fit their hypotheses, there are other studies that do not confirm or only partially confirm their findings (Price-Williams 1975:11-14). Still, it does seem to have been shown that the nature of one's culture and environment influences some aspects of visual perception.

To consider another aspect of perception, individuals differ in the speed with which they can find a hidden figure embedded in a picture. Herman A. Witkin and his associates (1962) use the designation "field independent" for those who are quick to do so and the designation "field dependent" for those who have difficulty in separating the figure from the organized ground. Persons respond consistently in three different kinds of tests for these differences in cognitive style (Witkin 1967). Field independence is seen to represent a tendency toward psychological differentiation; it increases with age, although a child who is more "field dependent" than his age-mates tends to have a similar position as a young adult. Field-dependent persons are said to have a less differentiated body image than field-independent persons and to tend to repress their feelings. The tests for field dependence have been given in some different cultures, and contrasting results have been found in some cases. For example, the Temne of Sierra Leone rated high on field dependence, while the Eskimo of Baffin Island proved to be much more field independent (Berry 1966). Much work has been done recently in the cross-cultural study of perception and cognition, including attempts to test the degree of uniformity in different cultures of the sequence of stages in cognitive development during childhood, which have been distinguished by Jean Piaget (see Dasen 1972). The article by Dasen just cited appeared in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, a journal especially devoted to such issues.

Summary

Many psychologists and psychiatrists of both Freudian and behaviorist schools emphasize the importance of the early childhood years in the formation of personality. It should make some difference, then, whether a child is born into a large extended family or a small nuclear one, or into a monogamous, polygynous, or polyandrous household. Societies differ in the extent of maternal care that a child receives. It has been shown that maternal deprivation may be a very traumatic experience for an infant, resulting in the formation of such personality traits as hostility, dependency, and low self-esteem. According to Du Bois's study, such traits developed among Alorese children due to the maternal neglect caused by a typical mother's daylong work in the fields. On the other hand, maternal deprivation may have less serious effects if a child's other relationships remain intact; and early ill effects may be reversed in later years.

The ways in which children are brought up in different cultures vary greatly. The suckling period is quite short in the United States, but it lasts over three years in some societies. Toilet training may be begun early or late, and sexual disciplines vary from very lenient to very strict. In some societies infants are tightly swaddled or placed on a cradleboard during the first year. In Bali children are carried about during the first year of life and not allowed to crawl. Many peasant societies assign children tasks and chores from an early age, while in other societies they have a great deal of freedom until puberty. These varying gamuts of childhood experience must have correspondingly different effects in personality formation.

Different societies also hold up contrasting role models for the growing child, ranging from the proud self-assertive warrior to the mild, self-effacing citizen. The prevalent worldview of a society must shape the personalities of its members. These are among the variables studied by anthropologists in the field of psychological anthropology or culture-and-personality. Their fieldwork has involved observation of behavior, interviews with informants, collection of life-history material, and the administration of tests such as the Rorschach Test. The study of perception and cognition in different cultures makes use, among other methods, of such standardized figures as the Müller-Lyer illusion, the horizontal-vertical illusion, and Witkin's embedded figures test.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Some of the material in this chapter has been drawn from Victor Barnouw, *Culture and Personality*, 4th ed. (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1985).

Several good readers are available: Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry A. Murray, and David M. Schneider, eds., *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953); Douglas G. Haring, ed., *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*, 3d ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1956); Francis L. K. Hsu, ed., *Psychological Anthropology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1972); and Robert A. LeVine, ed., *Culture and Personality: Contemporary Readings* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1974).

For a reader on cognition and perception, see J. W. Berry and P. R. Dasen, eds., *Culture and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology* (London: Methuen, 1974). See also Robert L. Munroe and Ruth H. Munroe, *Cross-Cultural Human Development* (Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1975).

For reviews of the cross-cultural study of child development, see P. Herbert Leiderman, Steven R. Tulkin, and Anne Rosenfeld, *Culture and Infancy: Variations in the Human Experience* (New York: Academic Press, 1977); and Ruth H. Munroe, Robert L. Munroe, and Beatrice B. Whiting, eds., *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Human Development* (New York: Garland Press, 1981).



Windows on Three Cultures II

The Inuit

Leslie Spier (1925:79) and George P. Murdock (1949:226-28) described an "Eskimo-type" kinship system which is like our own in that cross cousins are not distinguished from parallel cousins. We use the term *cousin* to include both types, and we distinguish between siblings and cousins. The analyses by Spier and Murdock were based on data from Greenland and the Central Eskimo region. Later analysts questioned whether the Eskimos do in fact have an "Eskimo-type" system, since a good deal of regional variation is found in kinship terminology, especially in Alaska. David Damas (1963:211) claims that having one term for cousins separate from sibling terms is not found in the Eskimo area. Damas states that among the Iglulingmiut, for male Ego, female cousins are classed with sisters, while for female Ego, male cousins are classed with brothers. However, the Central Eskimo system does seem to be close to the ideal Eskimo type. It is a bilateral, not unilineal system, as Spier and Murdock pointed out.

Boas states that children are generally betrothed at an early age, but these engagements can easily be broken. Rasmussen reports a curious custom: "Where the woman in question lives at some distance from her intended husband, and arrives at marriageable age without

his coming to fetch her, a man of her own village may move into the same house with her and live with her for the time being. When then the husband-to-be comes to fetch her, she is placed in the middle of the floor, and the two men try each to drag her to him. The stronger gets her" (Rasmussen 1929:178). (At the same time, one would think that the girl in the center of this tug-of-war would be able to give some help to the man she preferred.)

As soon as a boy can hunt, drive a sledge, build a dwelling, and provide for a family, he may marry. The girl, for her part, must be able to do all the household work, cook, sew and mend, tend the lamp, cut up meat, and so on. Boas states that marriages are not allowed between close relatives—cousins, nephews, nieces, uncles, or aunts. According to Balicki (1970:100), however, the Netsilik Eskimos have a preference for marrying either cross or parallel cousins.

Cases of both polyandry and polygyny were known in the Central Eskimo area, but monogamy was much more frequent than polygamy. Out of sixty-one marriages among the Netsilik in 1923, Rasmussen counted only three polygynous families. Divorces seem to have been quite common, however, as is illustrated by an Eskimo woman's autobiography:

My first husband was called Angutiashuk. . . . We were only married a very short time. I did not care for him, he was no good, and so we separated. . . . It was not long before I was married again, this time to one named Quivapik, but everyone was afraid of him, because he was always threatening to kill people if he did not get exactly what he wanted. . . .

I was married to him for seven years, but then he was killed by some people. . . . A man named Ikumaq . . . stabbed him with a snow knife and took me to wife himself. (Rasmussen 1929:27-29)

Soon after that the narrator married again, this time to a man with whom she lived happily. Jenness states that among the Copper Eskimos it often happens that a young girl is divorced two or three times within a year, but he adds that divorce becomes rare after a couple has had a child (Jenness 1922:160). A similar statement is made by Rasmussen about the Netsilik (1931:193).

The custom of wife lending among the Inuit has often been discussed. Often a practical purpose was involved. A man had to go on a sledge trip to a distant place, but his wife was pregnant or ill and could not accompany him. Since the man needed a woman to cook and sew for him on the trip, he might make an exchange with a friend of his (Birket-Smith 1971:158). Netsilik Eskimo males sometimes had song partners with whom it was customary to exchange wives, although this often led to serious conflicts (Balicki 1970:140-44). According to Jenness, wife exchanges among the Copper Eskimos were a device for

establishing ties of relationship and alliances in different communities. "It is by these two methods, then, by wife exchange and by association in dancing, that the Copper Eskimo establishes friendships wherever he goes and travels from group to group without danger" (Jenness 1922:87).

There is a great deal of freedom in sexual relations. Both Boas (1888:604ff.) and Rasmussen (1929:241ff.) refer to a festival occasion when men and women are paired off for sexual relations. Rasmussen's account makes it seem somewhat like an adult version of post office. Freuchen (1961:92) describes a promiscuous game called "doused lights," in which naked men and women change places in the dark and each man grabs a woman at a given signal. It would probably be wrong, however, to say that Inuit do not experience jealousy. Men often committed murders over women (Balicki 1970:157). Jean L. Briggs (1974:279) writes that "both men and women tend to be extremely possessive of their spouses and extremely alert to any slightest suggestion of attention from third parties," and Rasmussen (1931:195) states that a Netsilik woman who has given herself to another man usually gets a thrashing from her husband.

Inuit attitudes about male-female relationships are expressed in some of their folktales, as will be seen later (page 355). These often depict women as negative and dangerous beings. A devaluation of women is also suggested by the practice of female infanticide, which was formerly carried out by some Central Eskimo groups. On the other hand, Briggs (1974), who spent thirty months in the Central Arctic, saw no conscious, institutionalized conflict between the two sexes.

Despite the practice of female infanticide among some groups of Inuit, such as the Netsilik, children are generally treated with great indulgence, so much so that a French traveler expressed annoyance at what struck him as undue solicitude. Gontran de Poncins was accompanying an Eskimo married couple, whose child was seated on their sledge. "When he signified that he preferred to walk, the world stopped. Each took the child by the hand, and half holding, half carrying him, the three moved with slow steps down the trail. There was no irritability in these parents, no complaints over time lost" (De Poncins 1941:33).

De Poncins was exhausted when they finally made camp, but the Inuit were full of energy, and after dinner was over they began to play games with the child, hiding things around the tent for him to find. "This went on for hours in the midst of noisy laughter," notes the author sourly. That night he was awakened by the child's crying. De Poncins thought it must be due to toothache, but he was wrong. "It was tea he wanted. At one in the morning. And would his parents silence him? Punish him? By no means. His mother got up, got the Primus going again . . . and brewed tea for him" (De Poncins 1941:37).

Both Freuchen (1961:98) and Jenness (1922:165) state that babies are suckled for three or more years. Freuchen (1961:116) claims that several times he saw boys of fourteen being given the breast. According to the Honigmanns, breast feedings are brief among the Great Whale River Eskimos and seldom last more than two or three minutes, even for neonates: "the Eskimo baby must nearly always put up a little struggle for the breast, and eventually the mother always accedes" (Honigmann and Honigmann 1953:35).

Several writers have stated that the mother carries her baby in her *amaut*, the hood at the back of the jacket (see page 355), but Weyer claims that this was not normally done. Instead, the child was carried inside the mother's coat, supported by a strap (Weyer 1932:67-68). "The baby was deftly manipulated under the mother's large coat. . . . Contact with the mother's body was practically uninterrupted during the first two years" (Balicki 1970:106).

Toilet training does not seem to have been a stressful issue. "Accidents bring no censure, even if the mother becomes wet. Rather they are often laughed about, and a wet bed is stoically accepted. . . . People expect night and day training to be completed at about three years" (Honigmann and Honigmann 1953:38-39).

From their nurturant rearing, Inuit children apparently developed an attitude of self-confidence. Diamond Jenness observed: "Eskimo children show little respect for their elders in the manner to which we are accustomed. They address them as equals, and join in any conversation that may be taking place, not hesitating to interrupt or even correct their parents" (Jenness 1922:169).

Many Inuit stories are tales of achievement, which is in keeping with this self-confident attitude. But there also seem to be castration themes in Eskimo folklore, which might be the result of their close living conditions and the temptations of incest. One of the functions of a Netsilik shaman was to discover cases of incest, which could cause sickness. Balicki (1970:233) cites one case in which a woman confessed to a shaman that she had had sexual relations with her son. Thus, the closeness of the mother-son relationship, which promoted so much self-confidence in the young, might also pose problems.

Many travelers to the Central Eskimo region have commented on the remarkable cheerfulness and sociability of the Inuit, even under the most adverse conditions. Writing in the early 1820s, George F. Lyon remarked, "So singularly happy is the disposition of the Esquimaux, that when their wants are for a moment relieved, they forget that they have ever suffered from hunger" (Lyon 1970:102). And again: "In pain, cold, starvation, disappointment, or under rough treatment, their good humor is rarely ruffled" (Lyon 1970:222). Lyon's traveling companion, Captain Parry, wrote, "Neither their want of food and fuel, nor the uncertain prospect of obtaining any that night, were sufficient

Alaskan Eskimo children like these seem to have much in common with the Inuit.
*Steve McCutcheon/
 Alaska Pictorial
 Service*



to deprive these poor creatures of that cheerfulness and good humor which it seems at all times their peculiar happiness to enjoy" (Parry 1824:204).

Rasmussen was living with a group of Caribou Eskimos when a violent thunderstorm broke out, making holes in the snowhouses. During the storm a man drove up with his two wives and sons, and the women started to pitch a tent. Later, Rasmussen decided to go and see how they were making out. "I was astonished to hear singing inside, and gay choruses into the bargain. . . . Each part of the song was sung with great gusto, and it was easy to see that these people needed no help; to them the storm did not exist" (Rasmussen 1930:24-25). Rasmussen went on to one of the most damaged snowhouses, where one of his informants lived. Since it was so deep in water, Rasmussen merely peered through a hole in the wall. "But I could hardly believe my own eyes when I saw them all, old and young, eagerly absorbed in gambling with small fine playing cards. . . . Laughter and merry cries alternated with the claps of thunder" (Rasmussen 1930:25).

This positive attitude, understandably enough, has its dark side, for the Inuit can also be moody and unhappy. De Poncins, who commented on their cheerfulness, also referred to their moments of despondency and their "readiness to surrender this life" (De Poncins 1941:178). As a Netsilik Eskimo put it: "If you knew the horrors we often have to live through, you would understand too why we are so fond of laughing, why we love food and song and dancing. There is not one among us but has experienced a winter of bad hunting, when many people starved to death around us, and when we ourselves only pulled through by accident" (Rasmussen 1931:138).

There was a high rate of suicide among the Netsilik Eskimos, more frequently among males than among females. Balicki counted an average of one suicide every year and a half in a group of fewer than three hundred persons. He believes that the main cause was a lack of social relatedness to others (Balicki 1968:163, 168).

According to Seymour Parker (1962), the characteristic form of Eskimo psychopathology is not depression but hysteria, described mainly for the Polar Eskimos and the Eskimos of Greenland under such labels as *pibloktoq* and "kayak fright." A sufferer from *pibloktoq* may shout, break things, and run out across the ice, while a victim of kayak fright has an overwhelming fear that he has been abandoned by others. *Pibloktoq* affects women more than men. A. A. Brill (1913) considered it to be a form of hysteria expressing frustration at lack of love. Freeman, Foulks, and Freeman (1978) believe that arctic hysteria affects dependent persons suffering from separation anxiety. Looking at it in a broader context, Seymour Parker (1962) argues that hysterical behavior tends to occur in societies where socialization is not severe, where dependency needs and sexual drives are not repressed, where there is an emphasis on communalist values and mutual aid, and where female status is lower than male status. Parker claims that these patterns are found among the Eskimos.

On the cognitive side, it was noted earlier that the Eskimos of Baffin Island proved to be more field independent in Witkin's embedded figures test than were the Temne of Sierra Leone. Some writers, including Rasmussen (1930:25-26), have commented on the Eskimos' intimate knowledge of their terrain and on their ability to draw maps in spite of being unaccustomed to using pencil and paper. Jean L. Briggs writes:

The Utku have a remarkable memory for the details of their territory, and the accuracy with which they observe and mentally record the contours of the terrain are proverbial; their map-making (and -reading) abilities are phenomenal. I showed several Utku men maps of the entire North American Arctic. They pointed out and named correctly all the major rivers, lakes, inlets and islands from Baker Lake in the south to King William Island in the north, and from Perry River in the west to the west coast of Hudson Bay in the east, a territory approximately 135,000 miles square. (Briggs 1970:34)

The Hopi of Arizona

The Hopi have matrilineal descent and matrilineal residence. In contrast to the Eskimos, their marriages are thoroughly monogamous, although divorce and premarital and extramarital affairs are common. There is no polygyny or polyandry. In addition to matrilineal clans, the Hopi have phratries; one must marry outside both phratry and clan.



Hopi women. The Hopi have matrilineal residence and matrilineal descent. The status of women is relatively high among the Hopi. *K. Rosenthal/Stock, Boston*

As stated earlier, the combination of matrilineal descent and matrilineal residence gives Hopi women a secure position in society. This is how Don Talayesva, a Hopi from Oraibi, described his wife's situation in his autobiography:

She owned the house and all the property that her relatives gave her, including orchards, stock, water holes, land, and personal possessions. She also owned any property she made with her hands, such as pots, baskets, milling stones, and clothes, or anything that she earned for work or purchased with our money. She owned the fuel and the foodstuffs that I brought into her house, as well as all household equipment and utensils. (Simmons 1942:272)

The men, however, have the chiefly and priestly roles in this society; it is not a matriarchy. Religion is linked to the clan system. Each clan has an ancestral house where sacred clan fetishes are stored and where meetings and ceremonies of the clan are held. The "clan mother" is the female head of this household; her brother is the clan's male ceremonial head.

The Hopi kinship system is of the Crow type found among many matrilineal peoples. The term for "mother" is extended to her sisters and other women of her clan and generation, while the term for "mother's brother" is extended to male clan members of the same generation as Ego's mother's brother. A distinction is made between cross cousins and parallel cousins. Parallel cousins who belong to one's clan are equated with siblings and called "brother" and "sister." Children of brothers are called "son" and "daughter"; children of sisters are called "nephew" and "niece."

These kinship usages emphasize the close family ties within the clan and the matrilineal household. But there are also close ties with the father's clan, which comes next in importance to the mother's clan. Thus, the term for "father" is extended to his brothers and other male members of father's clan, so that the term has the significance of "male member of father's matrilineal lineage." A term corresponding to "father's sister" is applied not only to the father's sisters but also to their daughters and their daughters' daughters. It has the meaning of "female member of father's matrilineal lineage." The men married to these women are called "grandfather," even though they may be younger than Ego. The mother of a child's father becomes its godmother. On the twentieth day after the birth, a ceremony is performed in which the godmother, after sprinkling a line of cornmeal to the east, presents the baby to the rising sun. Her daughters bring baskets of cornmeal as presents. These are the women whom the child will call "father's sister" and whose husbands will be called "grandfather."

These women have a friendly, teasing, joking relationship with a growing boy. Their husbands, on the other hand, behave in a severe, jealous manner toward him. They pretend to believe, or perhaps sometimes actually do believe, that the boy is having sexual relations with their wives, and they may threaten to castrate him. Don Talayesva tells about experiences of this sort:

After I was four or five nearly all my grandfathers, father's sisters' and clan sisters' husbands, played very rough jokes on me, snatched at my penis, and threatened to castrate me, charging that I had been caught making love to their wives, who were my aunts. All these women took my part, called me their sweetheart, fondled my penis, and pretended to want it badly. . . . I liked to play with them but I was afraid of their husbands and thought that they would castrate me. It was a long time before I could be sure that they meant only to tease. (Simmons 1942:40)

One of these men once tied Don up, took out his knife, sharpened it on a stone, and said, "I am going to castrate him." But then he let the boy go. In winter these men sometimes rolled their wives' nephews naked in the snow. It was traditional for young men to get even with their tormentors when they were old enough to do so. After he came back from school, Don met the man who had pretended to castrate him,

and without saying a word, Don lassoed the man and dragged him down the mesa. On another occasion Don threw the old man into some wet mortar (Simmons 1942:57-58, 76, 108, 280, 368).

Among the Hopi there could be no marriage between a man and a woman of his father's clan. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a tradition of investing erotic overtones in this relationship, with concomitant jealousy, whether real or feigned, on the part of the "father's sisters' " husbands.

In the traditional culture the Hopi had courtship practices, which could begin after boys, having reached their teens, began to sleep in the *kiva*, the underground ceremonial chamber and men's quarters. Since these boys were no longer sleeping at home, they were under less supervision and could start visiting girls after dark. Hopi girls used to grind corn at night in a separate room where boys visited them. This could lead to either assignations or a proposal of marriage. If a proposal was accepted by her parents, the girl set to work grinding corn to make corn bread, which she took to her prospective mother-in-law's home. The boy's mother might refuse to accept it, which put an end to the engagement, or else she distributed the bread to her brothers and husband's relatives. This meant that the marriage preparations could continue. The girl then had to spend three days in her mother-in-law's home, grinding grain. During this time the boy's "father's sisters" would break into the home and abuse the prospective bride out of their traditional jealousy and their closeness to the groom. However, the marriage was usually consummated on the fourth day.

The couple continued to stay at the groom's home until the groom and his male relatives and friends had finished weaving bridal garments for the girl. This took about two weeks. After that the bride returned to her home in her new wedding outfit.

Hopi male-female relations are not like those described for most peasant agricultural societies, for women have a relatively high status in this society and their matrilineal, matrilocal traditions help to maintain their status.

Anthropologists who have done fieldwork among the Hopi generally agree that Hopi childhood, like childhood among the Eskimos, is a time of great indulgence. There are many adults to look after a child in a matrilocal household. Women of the father's clan also have a friendly relationship with a Hopi boy. There is a relatively long suckling period. Don Talayesva tells us that he was still getting his mother's milk at the age of six, but most children are weaned during their second year. There is usually no strictness about toilet training, although Don Talayesva tells us of being severely punished for bed-wetting by being rolled in the snow and dumped in ice-cold water when he was about four years old, a treatment that seems to have worked (Simmons 1942:38).



Cradleboard babies.
EKM-Nepenthe

Wayne Dennis, who did field research among the Hopi in the 1930s, reported that a Hopi infant is bound to a cradleboard on the first day of its life and breast-fed while on the board, being let out only for bathing and for the changing of soiled cloths. The cradleboard is used for the first six months or so. While on the board, a child's movements are restricted, but this does not seem to retard motor development. Dennis compared Indian children raised on a cradleboard with children not so raised and found no difference in age at onset of walking (Dennis 1940:107).

In his autobiography Don Talayesva recalls both constraint and freedom in his early years. His mother tied him by a rope to a large stone to restrict his range of movement. But later he was given the freedom of the village and could roam about where he wished (Simmons 1942:35-36). Don says that when he was a boy he spent most of his time in play. "We wrestled, ran races, played tag, kickball, stick throwing, and shinny. We spun tops with whips and made string figures on our fingers" (Simmons 1942:60).

Two important qualifications must be made about the general indulgence of Hopi child rearing. One is that children were put to work at an early age. Girls helped in women's work at age four or five, and boys helped their fathers in the fields from the age of six. The other is that there was strong adult disapproval of fighting; it was believed that aggression should not disturb village life.

Since Don Talayesva was an unruly boy, he was often spanked or whipped by his parents, maternal uncles, and clan brothers. He was sometimes punished by being held over a smudge fire of cedar boughs until he almost choked (Simmons 1942:71). But there is said to be no corporal punishment after the age of twelve (Dennis 1941:262).

Bogeymen were also used to keep children in line. They were warned that an evil spirit or a Navaho might carry them off. At the same time, children were praised for good behavior. The Hopi believed in supernatural beings called *kacinas* or *kachinas*, conceived to be both ancestors and rain gods. Their roles were enacted by masked men in rituals, including initiation ceremonies for children. These awesome masked beings served to reward good children and to punish unruly ones. On their annual visits to the village the *kacinas* distributed presents to children who had been good during the past year—dolls for the girls and rattles, bows and arrows, shinny sticks, and tops for the boys. A giant *kacina* named *Soyoko* served as a bogeyman. The parents of a disobedient child got in touch with the man who played the part of *Soyoko* so that he would come to their home and frighten the boy, threatening to carry him away and eat him if he persisted in being bad. *Soyoko*'s last appearance at Oraibi was in 1911 and at Hotevila in 1932; but in 1940 Dennis reported that *Soyoko* was still active in other Hopi villages. On these occasions the parents acted as defenders of the child, urging *Soyoko* to accept some other food instead (Dennis 1940:44-45).

Between the ages of six and ten, children are initiated into the tribalwide *Kacina* and *Powamu* societies. In these initiations the children are whipped by the *kacinas*, who later remove their masks, as is described below in the Windows on Three Cultures III section.

One might think that the disillusionment of the initiation and the new knowledge that the masked gods are only men would lead to an agnostic, skeptical attitude among the young adults, but this does not seem to happen. They continue to believe in the *kacinas*. After his second initiation, into the *Wowochim* society, Don Talayesva wrote that he had learned a great lesson, that the ceremonies handed down among the Hopi meant life and security and that "the Hopi gods had brought success to us in the desert ever since the world began" (Simmons 1942:178).

The second initiation (for boys only) takes place between the ages of sixteen and twenty. By this time, young men have become thoroughly disciplined. Wayne Dennis collected reports about fighting among children at Hotevila and found that fighting was reported for twenty-two boys and five girls, mostly between the ages of eight and thirteen—none older than sixteen. Stealing was reported for twenty-seven boys and fifteen girls, but there was little stealing after age eighteen

Dennis 1941:268). These numbers reflect small minorities, although some cases may well have gone unreported.

Gary Granzberg (1972) claims that the katchina initiations have a brainwashing, disciplinary effect upon the young. He gave a battery of psychological tests, including verbal and pictorial thematic apperception tests, to two groups of Hopi children from Second Mesa aged eight to ten. One group, numbering eleven, was tested both before and after initiation. The other group (six subjects) was of the same age grade, school, village, and level of acculturation but was not scheduled for initiation. The tests were given to both groups in three time periods: (1) two months before the initiation, (2) right after the initiation, and (3) two months after the initiation. The test results showed that the newly initiated subjects had become significantly less aggressive and more dependent than the control group.

Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph gave a revised Thematic Apperception Test, the Rorschach Test, the Draw-a-Man Test, and various other personality tests to Hopi children. Commenting on the results, they remark that "the children appear deeply disciplined to an extent which is truly astonishing" (Thompson and Joseph 1944:109). Dorothy Eggan, who worked extensively with the Hopi, wrote that "there was strong overt control in *all* emotional situations: anger, physical aggression, joy—in fact, in everything except verbal aggression through gossip, and in sexual activity" (Eggan 1974:281).

Gossip seems to be rife in Hopi villages, and there is much premarital and extramarital sexual activity (Dennis 1940:81; Thompson and Joseph 1944:63). These avenues may allow for some release of emotional tension. On the other hand, the reader will recall the castration threats made to Don Talayesva by the husbands of his "father's sisters."

In an essay on Hopi culture and personality, Esther Goldfrank (1945) characterized the Hopi as a society in which infant disciplines are weak and later disciplines severe, a generalization that seems to be well supported by the evidence. As was noted in Chapter 3, John Bennett (1946) divided anthropologists who have written about Pueblo culture into two groups: an "organic" school and a "repressive" school. To the first group belong those who admire the integration of Pueblo life, with its cooperative emphasis, its nonaggressive, Apollonian worldview, and its logico-aesthetic values. Ruth Benedict and Laura Thompson were said to represent this school of thought. The "repressive" group has a more negative evaluation of life among the Hopi and Zuni, drawing attention to indications of tension, anxiety, and suspicion in everyday life. Representatives of this school of thought were said to be Mischa Titiev, Dorothy Eggan, and Esther Goldfrank. Bennett considered the anthropologists of both groups to be good

ethnographers, but he claimed that they bring different values to the field situation, leading them to perceive and describe what they see in different ways. Those who make up the "organic" group are interested in the final product, the well-integrated Pueblo culture, while the "repressives" are more concerned with the means that conduce to this end.

In comparing the Hopi with the Central Eskimos, we note that in both groups childhood is a time of great indulgence, but Hopi society bears down heavily upon the young from the time of initiation into the Katsina and Powamu societies. The contrast between these two cultures seems to reflect a general contrast between hunting and agricultural societies made in a cross-cultural study by Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959). Agricultural societies emphasize faithful adherence to routine and obedience among the young. In hunting societies, on the other hand, there is more encouragement of initiative and self-reliance in child rearing.

Contemporary Japan

The Japanese have patrilineal descent, and formerly there was patrilocal residence for the eldest son, since Japan had the practice of primogeniture, in which he inherited the family's land. The eldest son had the obligation to support his parents and continued to live in his parents' home, to which he brought his bride. Younger sons usually left home and went to the cities to look for work. After World War II primogeniture lost its legal support. Patterns of inheritance are now more flexible. Land may be divided, and any child may support the parents and inherit the property. However, primogeniture is still practiced by preference in some rural communities.

A good deal of adoption takes place in Japan. A childless couple may adopt a nephew to keep their property within the family. A family with a daughter but no son may marry her to a poor young man who takes her family name. Marriages tend to be arranged through a go-between, although Embree described courting practices before World War II in Suze Mura, in which young men visited girls at night, masking their faces with a towel—a custom that lost currency with the advent of electric lights (Embree 1939:193-94).

Some traditional customs favor males over females. In a postwar study of a small Japanese village, Beardsley, Hall, and Ward (1959) reported that girls are served food after boys and that boys use the family bathtub before the girls do. Girls never walk to school ahead of boys. In the traditional family, according to Dore, a woman's marriage was seen not so much as the start of a conjugal relationship with a man than as her incorporation into his family, whose members referred to



A Japanese family.
R. Weldon/Jeroboam

the bride as “our *yome*,” a term that is best translated as “married woman of the youngest generation” (Dore 1965:97). A seventeenth-century Confucian scholar wrote: “The fundamental reason for a man to take a wife is that she may serve his parents and bear heirs to continue the succession” (Dore 1965:98). In family disputes a man always sided with his parents. But Dore reported that these patterns were changing in 1958, and they have changed still more since then. There is now less expectation that parents will live with an eldest son, and there is more neolocal residence, especially with the current increase in urban life. Before World War II girls seldom worked after leaving school; now many hold jobs in the cities, although their salaries are much lower than those of men. There is also more coeducation and more support for love matches today, although arranged marriages are still common.

While women are freer from domination by the mother-in-law, they often have a rather restricted social life. Reischauer writes: “Married women do not go out with their husbands to dinners and parties or entertain outsiders in their homes, which are usually so small as to preclude this sort of entertainment. Their life is likely to be limited to

husband, children, a few close relatives, some old schoolday girl friends, and possibly the activities of the PTA" (Reischauer 1977:207). In the middle-class suburban community of Tokyo described by Ezra F. Vogel (1963), the women see little of their husbands, who commute to work and usually go to a bar with office associates at the end of the working day. Such women spend most of the day with their preschool children.

William Caudill and David Plath made a study of sleeping arrangements in 332 households in three cities in Japan. The households averaged 4.8 persons per household. Only 10 percent of the people used Western-style beds. In almost all the rooms the floors were covered by *tatami* mats, on which quilts were spread each evening and removed in the morning. Caudill and Plath found that children often sleep with their parents until they are teenagers. "After the age of sixteen, a child is more likely to co-sleep with a sibling or to be alone, but there always remains a fair chance (at about the 20 percent level) that he will co-sleep with a parent" (Caudill and Plath 1966:353). Girls are more likely to do so than boys. Caudill and Plath conclude that

sleeping arrangements in Japanese families tend to blur the distinctions between generations and between the sexes, to emphasize the interdependence more than the separateness of individuals, and to underplay (or largely ignore) the potentiality for the growth of conjugal intimacy between husband and wife in sexual and other matters in favor of a more general familial cohesion. (Caudill and Plath 1966:363)

The cosleeping involves a close relationship between mother and child, which is also manifest in patterns of bathing and carrying. Middle-class Japanese families have wooden bathtubs, usually heated by gas, that are narrower and deeper than American bathtubs. A mother takes her baby into the bath with her at the time of the nightly bath. When she goes out shopping, the baby is strapped on her back in a manner reminiscent of the Eskimos; in winter the mother's coat covers the baby as well. Even at home children are carried about a great deal during the first year of life, lest they crawl into dangerous areas, such as the open, floor-level toilet or the places for cooking and heating.

In the mid-1950s Betty B. Lanham gave a questionnaire to 449 parents in the city of Kainan about their child-rearing practices. She found that weaning generally takes place after the first year, although some children are suckled much longer. On the other hand, the patterns of toilet training are not very different from the U.S. patterns.

As with the Eskimos and the Hopi, early childhood among the Japanese is a time of great indulgence, but pressure to achieve starts when children embark on school education. This pressure is lightened by the fact that no student is failed, once admitted. But examinations

are required for entrance to schools and colleges—tense times for both students and their mothers. The suburban middle-class mothers described by Vogel help their children with their homework and assume the role of teacher at home (Vogel 1963:46-65).

A stress on achievement motivation, often mentioned in connection with the Japanese, is understandably present in the suburban community that Vogel describes, but it also appears, surprisingly enough, in the small rural village of Niiike, where George De Vos gave Thematic Apperception Tests. In contrast to American middle-class achievement stories in which a young man leaves home to become a success, the protagonist in Niiike TAT stories does not want to leave home, and if he does leave to study or work elsewhere, the story often ends with his return home. Nevertheless, the theme of achieving success is present. In some of the Niiike success stories there is the notion that one must succeed to repay one's parents for all their sacrifices. There is an emphasis in Japan on reciprocity and the repayment of obligations.

In his study of Niiike, De Vos noted a muted quality of emotional expression: "Few opportunities exist for the expression of feelings with any vehemence or abandon. . . . Both happy and disturbed feelings generally remain muted and suppressed" (De Vos 1965:55).

A Japanese writer describes the emotional outlook of the Japanese as "less subjective than objective, less romantic than realistic, less extreme than middle-of-the-way, less grandiloquent than concise, less pretentious than unassuming, less out-of-the-way than commonplace, less heroic than sensible" (Hasegawa 1966:10).

The Japanese are proverbially hardworking, but they have a great variety of ways of relaxing. As stated in the Windows on Three Cultures VI section, there are many bars, movie houses, and nightclubs in the cities, and within the home there are the tension-reducing amenities of the family meal and the nightly hot bath. So while there may be stress, there are also compensatory pleasures to relieve it.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For the Inuit, apart from the references by Boas and Rasmussen cited at the end of the Windows on Three Cultures I section, see Jean L. Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); and Jean L. Briggs, "Eskimo Women: Makers of Men," in *Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Carolyn J. Matthiasson (New York: Free Press, 1974), pp. 261-304. See also John J. Honigmann and Irma Honigmann, "Child-Rearing Patterns among the Great Whale River Eskimos," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 2 (1953): 31-51. Although it deals with western Alaskan rather than Central Eskimos, a study by Margaret Lantis can be recommended, since it not only presents an analysis of Eskimo folklore but also gives the results of Rorschach tests given to the

people of Nunivak Island: Margaret Lantis, "Nunivak Eskimo Personality as Revealed in the Mythology," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 2 (1953): 109-74. Another analysis of Alaskan Eskimos is Arthur E. Hippler, "The North Alaskan Eskimos: A Culture and Personality Perspective," *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 449-70.

A classic work on Pueblo social organization, which contains a long chapter on the Hopi, is Fred Eggan, *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950). See also Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *New Perspectives on the Pueblos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972); Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); Wayne Dennis, *The Hopi Child* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940); Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); Esther S. Goldfrank, "Socialization, Personality, and the Structure of Pueblo Society," *American Anthropologist* 47 (1945): 516-39; and Gary Granzberg, "Hopi Initiation Rites: A Case Study of the Validity of the Freudian Theory of Culture," *Journal of Social Psychology* 87 (1972): 189-95. There is an analysis of Thematic Apperception Test stories by Hopi children in William E. Henry, *The Thematic Apperception Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations*, Genetic Psychology Monograph no. 35, 1947.

For Japan, see Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). Two village studies are recommended. The first, written before World War II, is John F. Embree, *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). The second, based on work done after the war, is Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall, and Robert E. Ward, *Village Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

For culture-and-personality writings on Japan, see Bernard S. Silberman, ed., *Japanese Character and Culture: A Book of Selected Readings* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962); and Takie Sugiyama Lebra and William P. Lebra, eds., *Japanese Culture and Behavior: Selected Readings* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974). See also Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946); and George A. De Vos with contributions by Hiroshi Wagatsuma, William Caudill, and Keichi Mizhuma, *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Part Four

Age Grades, Associations, Castes, and Classes





Age Grades and Voluntary Associations

As we have seen, kinship is an important organizing principle not only in tribal societies but also at higher levels of socioeconomic integration. However, it is not the only organizing principle. Societies are knit together in other ways than through kinship.

Age Grades and Age Sets

Just as all societies have kinship terms for different relatives, they also have terms for persons of different age levels, corresponding roughly to our words *infant, baby, child, boy, girl, adolescent, young man, young woman, man, woman, old man, old woman*—to which various other terms could be added. These refer to different *age grades*.

The term *age set* is used for a group of persons of the same sex who are of about the same age, such as the members of a particular class in school. Together they advance from one grade to another. Members of an age set may develop strong bonds of solidarity, supporting one another in everyday activities and in marriage and other ceremonies. Like kinship units, they may be corporate groups, although they do not usually own property or have special religious cults or shrines.



Initiation among the Iatmul of New Guinea. The boy, clasped and comforted by his mother's brother, is cut by a member of the moiety opposite to that of the boy. From Gregory Bateson, *Naven*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958). © 1958 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University. Reprinted by permission.

Initiation Ceremonies

In some societies, movement from one age grade to another is celebrated by elaborate rituals, especially at puberty. Indeed, boys' initiation ceremonies at puberty receive far more emphasis in some societies than do marriage ceremonies.

This is the case among the Arunta of central Australia, whose initiation ceremonies go on for weeks or months and are marked by various stages. The boys are first segregated from the women and children and made to fast and stay awake at night. Then the old men throw the boys up in the air and beat them when they come down. The men sit around an initiate and bite his scalp and chin until they bleed (which makes the hair grow and is good for the scalp, they say). Then the boys are circumcised and subincised. In a final ordeal they have to lie on some leaves over a smoldering fire. A boy who has gone through all that is surely entitled to feel that he is now a man.

Circumcision and other genital operations have a wide distribution in the puberty ceremonies of Africa, Melanesia, and Australia. In some Australian societies, a tooth gets knocked out instead. In the tropical

forest area of South America, youths are often tested by fasting, exposure to ant bites, scarification, and whipping. A girl may be hoisted in a hammock up to the ceiling of the large communal house in which she lives, where she is exposed to smoke from fires within the house.

These ordeals are reminiscent of the hazing that accompanies initiation into secret societies, and, in a sense, that is what is involved. The boys who are admitted into the ranks of the older males are often given instruction about matters hitherto kept from them, and they may be warned on pain of death or severe punishment never to reveal these secrets to the women or uninitiated children.

Arunta men have sacred objects of stone or wood, decorated with simple designs, called *churingas*. These are kept in secret storage places and taken out on solemn occasions, passed from hand to hand among the men, and sometimes rubbed on their bodies. These *churingas* must never be seen by women or children, but after a boy has been initiated, he may be shown them and told something about the mysteries associated with them.

In the Chaga tribe in East Africa, the adult men are not supposed to defecate. At least, that is the impression they try to give the women. They say that at the time of initiation a man's anus is stopped up by a plug, which he retains until old age. Defecation must be done very secretly, and severe punishments are threatened to any man who should be so disloyal as to spill the secret. However, the women know what is going on. In *their* initiation ceremonies, the older women tell the young girls that the men pretend not to defecate and warn them not to laugh about the matter.

Thus, initiation into adulthood involves learning all kinds of things one did not know before. For the boys, initiation involves separation from their mothers and closer association with the adult men. Such ceremonies celebrate and reinforce male social solidarity. They often occur in warring polygynous societies in which male solidarity is an important desideratum. Upon initiation the boy may be given a new name, new accouterments, and new privileges that designate his enhanced status.

Different explanations have been offered by anthropologists to account for why there are initiation ceremonies in some societies and not in others. In some Pacific islands there are no such transition rites; so socialization of the young can take place without them. Explanations for this range from the psychological to the sociological. John W. M. Whiting and some of his colleagues have offered a series of interpretations based on cross-cultural correlations in fifty-six societies. It was hypothesized that societies likely to have initiation ceremonies for boys at puberty are those in which mother and child sleep exclusively together for at least a year after the birth and in which there is a taboo on sexual relations between husband and wife during that period. The

reason first put forward for this hypothesis was that the mother-son sleeping arrangement establishes a strong, dependent relationship of the boy toward the mother and Oedipal hostility toward the father, both of which need to be counteracted by the time of puberty. An initiation ceremony serves these functions by separating the boys from their mothers and bringing them into the ranks of the adult males. A later interpretation by Whiting, which was felt to be more satisfactory than the earlier one, was that one consequence of exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements is a boy's cross-sex identification with his mother, which needs to be overcome and replaced by male identification through the drama of the initiation ceremony. Whiting and his colleagues found correlations in support of their hypotheses linking exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements and postpartum sex taboos with initiation ceremonies. Of twenty societies where both antecedent variables were found, fourteen had initiation ceremonies and six did not. Where both of the antecedent variables were absent, only two of the twenty-five societies had the ceremonies (Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony 1958; Burton and Whiting 1961).

In a more sociological approach, Frank W. Young claims that initiation ceremonies serve to dramatize and reinforce male solidarity in "middle-level" societies "where the variety of food exploitation patterns is limited and where the resources may be exploited by cooperative groups. Moreover, it is among such societies that intergroup hostilities conducive to male solidarity are possible" (Young 1962:380).

In another cross-cultural study, Judith K. Brown finds that no initiation ceremony takes place for girls in societies where they leave home upon marriage, since the act of leaving marks that change. But in societies where the girl remains in the same social setting after marriage, a ceremony may be performed to mark her change of status, especially in societies in which women make a notable contribution to subsistence (Brown 1963).

Men's Houses

Many societies have a special men's house where unmarried men sleep. This house also frequently serves as a ceremonial center and military stronghold. Among the Rengma Naga of northeastern India, boys move to the men's house when they are six or seven years old and sleep there until they get married. Older men come there to sit and gossip and to instruct the young boys. In former days, when fighting was frequent, men kept their knives, spears, and shields in the men's house. This place was regarded as a sanctuary. No fugitive criminal could be harmed if he sought protection there. Corresponding to the men's house, there was a "dormitory" for unmarried women, which girls entered at the age of six or seven and left at marriage.

Men's houses are found in various societies in Africa, Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, and South America. The character and functions of such houses differ in different cultures, but their existence in any society serves to symbolize and strengthen male solidarity. The bonds among the adult men crosscut kinship lines, enabling the men of a society to act in concert, whether they are related by kinship ties or not.

Nyakyusa Age-Set Villages

An unusual arrangement emphasizing age sets has been worked out by the Nyakyusa, a Bantu-speaking tribe in East Africa. Until around ten years of age, boys live in their fathers' homes, but after that they leave and start a new village with other boys of their age set and build little huts of reeds in which they sleep. When they are older, the boys build more substantial houses with better thatch. At first, two or three friends share a hut, but eventually each builds his own house. Unmarried youths continue to eat at their fathers' houses, which they visit in small groups in turn.

When a young man of about twenty-five gets married, he brings his wife to his village. Then, for the first time, he is able to have fields of his own and eat his own produce, for cultivation requires the cooperation of a man and a woman, and cooking is women's work.

Eight or ten years after the young men from the chief's village have begun to marry, their fathers hand over the government of the country to them, following an elaborate series of ceremonies. Each Nyakyusa village, then, is composed of men of different age sets with their wives and children.

This system should lead to considerable autonomy and independence on the part of young men. Although bonds with age-mates are emphasized, kinship ties are still important, for property, such as cattle, circulates within the kinship group rather than within the age-set village (Wilson 1951).

Voluntary Associations

So far we have been dealing with society-wide categories according to age. Some societies also have voluntary associations not joined by all members of the society, although they are not limited by kinship. These include men of different age sets and different kin groups. Some societies may have several parallel, roughly equivalent social units of this kind, which are competitive in some respects. An example is provided by the military societies of Plains Indian tribes such as the Cheyenne.

Cheyenne Military Societies

The equestrian, buffalo-hunting Cheyenne Indians of the early nineteenth century on the Great Plains had six military societies: Fox, Elk, Shield, Bowstring, Dog, and Northern Crazy Dogs. The members in each of these societies came from all the bands that made up the summer-camp circle, with the exception of the Dog soldiers, who were from a single band. Except for them, the military societies could function only during the summer months, when all the Cheyenne bands came together. In wintertime the camp circle was dispersed and the component bands hunted in separate territories.

It was an honor to belong to a military society, and each claimed to be the best and bravest. Each society had special ways of painting the body and personal possessions and maintained special traditions. The military societies had the responsibility of keeping order when the tribe was on the march, during communal buffalo hunts, and on tribal ritual occasions. They represented a kind of police force under the authority of the tribal council of forty-four chiefs and could punish persons who violated the rule against unauthorized hunting of the buffalo and broke other tribal laws. These social units obviously had much political importance in regulating social order among the Cheyennes. They crosscut kinship, age, and band divisions.

Secret Societies

In some societies there are voluntary associations whose membership is secret. Some American Indian tribes, including the Hopi, Kwakiutl, and Iroquois, have had such societies; societies of this kind are also important in West Africa and the Congo. Sometimes, as among the Hopi, the Iroquois, and the Mende of Sierra Leone, secret societies are associated with the curing of particular ailments. Sometimes they have political functions. African secret societies help to maintain social order, backed by strong religious sanctions. Since secret societies sometimes perform in public dances or rituals, it is not surprising that many have developed the use of masks or other forms of disguise, like the Ku Klux Klan.

Among the Mende, secret societies play roles in the education of the young, the regulation of sexual conduct, the supervision of political and economic affairs, and the operation of various social services, including medical treatment, entertainment, and recreation. In the Poro society, boys undergo a long initiation that involves both ordeals and instruction. They learn something about native law, crafts, agricultural techniques, drumming and singing, bridge building, and the setting of traps. There is a parallel society for girls, who receive training in housework and child care and are given sex instruction. The Humoi society is concerned with the regulation of sexual conduct.

The Mende have many taboos concerning sex, and there are many relatives with whom sexual intercourse is forbidden; it is believed that transgression of such rules results in sickness. A person must be treated by the society concerned with the taboos he has broken; so those who violate sexual regulations report to the Humoi society. Illness may also be explained as being due to a person's having entered that part of the bush where secret society meetings have been held. Confession to the society is required, followed by medical treatment and purification. Those who have been so treated become members of the secret society, since they have learned something about the society's operations in the process.

The Poro society has important political functions. No one can hold office among the Mende without being a member of this society; no chief can be appointed without its approval. There are dangers of autocracy here, but the Poro may, at the same time, act as a check on the autocracy of rulers. The Poro society also has economic functions in fixing prices for certain commodities and in regulating trade (Little 1949).

Secret societies have sometimes played political and economic roles in the Western world—witness the Ku Klux Klan and the Mafia. Anthropologists have not done much work on secret societies, but that is understandable, for if an anthropologist can learn the secrets of such a society, it's not a very secret society.

Religious Cults

Religious cults that require periodic ceremonies bring members together and emphasize their common ties. Among many possible examples, let us consider the Drum Dance, or Dream Dance, of the Chippewa Indians in northern Wisconsin. The Chippewa borrowed this dance from the Sioux in the 1870s, after peace was made between these Indian groups. It is said to have originated from the vision of a young Sioux Indian girl who was instructed by the Great Spirit to spread the dance as a means of reconciling the Chippewa, Sioux, and other Indian groups. Not all Chippewa Indians are members of this cult. In the 1940s (the period for which the following description applies), there were three drum groups at the Lac Court Oreilles reservation, each consisting of about thirty people. Such a group tries to meet at least once every season to drum, sing, and pray. Members also assemble on various emergency occasions—to remove mourning from a person who is initiated into the group, to install new members, or to effect curing through the presence of certain powerful individuals who relate dreams of their buffalo or grizzly bear spirits.

The drum groups also visit other communities and act as hosts to visiting drum groups from outside. Not only do the Chippewa Indians

from different reservations pay mutual four-day visits to each other, but the Drum Dance network also includes Menomini, Potawatomi, and Winnebago Indians, for the Drum Dance aims to cut across local and tribal ties and to establish friendly relations everywhere. This intercommunication is fostered by the practice of giving drums away every few years. Such a cult provides an in-group for its members, taking on some of the attributes and functions of a kinship unit.

Voluntary Associations in the United States

The United States is a nation in which all kinds of voluntary associations flourish—clubs (including women's clubs, which are unheard of in some nations), learned societies, Rotarians, Lions, Moose, Elk, nudist groups, bird-watching societies, veterans' associations, alumni, chess players, societies for helping the American Indian or black Americans, and associations for aiding museums, conserving nature, and many other causes. This aspect of American life must have developed early in our history, for it was commented upon, with his usual penetration, by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s.

Tocqueville (1954:II:117–18) found that voluntary associations were much more numerous here than in other countries, and he related this to the democratic traditions of the United States:

As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment on they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to.

Impressed by this phenomenon, Tocqueville (1954 II:118) concluded, "If men are to remain civilized or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased."

Summary

An *age grade* includes members of a society who belong to a particular age bracket, while an *age set* is a group of persons of the same sex and about the same age who advance from one age grade to the next, together. In some societies the passage from one age grade to the next is marked by initiation ceremonies, especially around the time of puberty. Distinctions between the sexes and age grades are emphasized in societies that have special men's houses, where adult men congregate and unmarried men sleep.

Some societies have voluntary associations that include people of different age sets and kin groups. The Cheyenne military societies of the early nineteenth century provide an example. In some societies, such as the Hopi, Iroquois, and Kwakiutl, there are voluntary associations whose membership is secret. Masks may be used by such groups in public dances and ceremonies.

The United States is particularly rich in voluntary associations. Tocqueville, who noted this abundance early in the nineteenth century, related it to the democratic traditions of the United States.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Puberty ceremonies, especially those involving genital operations such as circumcision and subincision, have lent themselves to various Freudian and sociological analyses, of which the following references provide a variety of interpretations: Theodor Reik, *Ritual: Psychoanalytic Studies* (New York: International Universities Press, 1958), pp. 99ff.; Bruno Bettelheim, *Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954); John W. M. Whiting, Richard Kluckhohn, and Albert Anthony, "The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies at Puberty," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, 3d ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1958), pp. 359-70; William N. Stephens, *The Oedipus Complex: Cross-Cultural Evidence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1962); Yehudi A. Cohen, *The Transition from Childhood to Adolescence: Cross-Cultural Studies of Initiation Ceremonies, Legal Systems, and Incest Taboos* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1964); and Frank W. Young, *Initiation Ceremonies: A Cross-Cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).



Castes and Classes

Caste and class stratification are found mainly in advanced civilizations. Although some exceptions can be cited, there is usually not much internal ranking in hunting-gathering bands. Hereditary social classes appear in many advanced horticultural and agricultural societies. In this chapter we will consider some aspects of the caste system in India and similar features in some other societies. After that, concepts of class and class stratification will be discussed.

Hindu Castes

A Hindu caste is an endogamous, hierarchically ranked social group, which is sometimes associated with a particular occupation. Rules determine whether or not one may accept food or water from persons of different caste. Usually, one may accept food from one's own and from higher, but not lower, castes. Concepts of pollution are associated with the lowest-ranking castes, termed "untouchables," who often have separate wells and live in separate quarters in a town or village.

Endogamy

Endogamy is the requirement to marry within a particular group. Like the opposite rule of exogamy, it may apply to different kinds of social



In India, the relative rank of a caste group is related to its traditional occupation. *Ira Kirschenbaum/Stock, Boston*

units. Among the Inca of Peru there was a requirement to marry a person of one's own village or community; this could be called village or local endogamy. In the Hindu caste system one must marry within the caste or subcaste. A caste resembles a clan in that membership is determined by birth. However, clans are exogamous; husband and wife are members of different clans but must always belong to the same caste. Although clans and castes seem to be very different kinds of social units, Lévi-Strauss believes that the latter may, in some cases, at least, have developed from the former. He points to some similarities between totemic clans and Hindu castes, such as food prohibitions, the function of marriage regulation, and the complementary exchange of certain goods or services. He believes that some tribes in southeastern North America, such as the Creek and the Chickasaw, were in the process of transforming their clan units into castes (Lévi-Strauss 1966:113ff.). While this may have occurred, it would seem that a caste system of the type found in India must depend upon a more complex economic specialization and division of labor.

Hierarchic Ranking

Castes in India are ranked. Some castes are considered to be purer and higher than others. The Brahmins, associated with the priesthood and education, are accorded the highest rank, while the Chamars (leatherworkers) and the Bhangis (sweepers) are the lowest. In some of the

intermediate ranks there may be disagreement about relative position in the system, but there is a rough consensus about the structure of the hierarchy and the placement of castes within it.

The relative rank of a caste group is related to its traditional occupation. Those engaged in work that is considered defiling, such as handling leather or cleaning latrines, are low in the social order. Some low-caste groups have tried to raise their collective status by refusing to follow traditional occupations, tabooing the eating of meat, and being meticulous in the observance of orthodox Hindu rituals.

Because of the stratification in the caste system, some people have regarded castes as frozen classes. One theory about the origin of the caste system is that it resulted from efforts of the light-skinned Aryan invaders after 1500 B.C. to maintain social distance between themselves and the dark-skinned peoples they conquered. Yet an equally plausible view is that a caste system was already in operation in India before the arrival of the Aryans. Contrary to the usual assumptions, a caste system does not preclude social mobility. The hierarchy is not absolutely frozen. Some Hindu untouchables are wealthy; many Brahmans are poor. An untouchable, B. R. Ambedkar, was India's first minister of law. Status in India is affected by criteria other than caste membership alone.

Traditional Occupation

Not all Hindu castes are associated with particular occupations. Exceptions occur in the case of some groups, such as the Jats of northern India, that originated as tribal groups. Many hill tribes that formerly constituted separate social units with distinctive cultures have become absorbed into the Hindu caste system, often with low rank.

To give an example of a particular Indian village, let us consider the caste composition of the village of Rampur, fifteen miles west of Delhi, with a population of about 1,100. This village, like many in northern India, has a "dominant caste"—a caste that not only has numerical superiority but also owns all the land in the village. In Rampur the dominant caste is that of the Jats, who number seventy-eight families. They have the reputation of being hardworking farmers.

There are fifteen Brahman families in Rampur. The men of these families are farmers whose actual status is no higher than that of the Jat landlords. None of them are priests.

Not far below the Jats in status are the four Khati (carpenter) families and the one Lohar (blacksmith) family. There is one Baniya (merchant) family. There are three Nai (barber), two Chipi (tailor), seven Kumhar (potter), five Jhinvar (water carrier), and four Dhobi (washerman) families. At the bottom of the hierarchy are the twenty Chamar (leatherworker) and ten Bhangi (sweeper) families.

A young Nai barber giving a shave to a Jat jajman in the main street of Rampur. The barber's father may have shaved this Jat client and cut his hair some years before, for ties between kamin and jajman families are hereditary. *Courtesy of the late Oscar Lewis*



Most of the houses of the Jats are clustered in the center of the village, along with some Brahmans and the Nai and Baniya families. Most of the other castes are on the outskirts of the village.

Not all persons carry on the traditional occupation associated with the caste. Many Chamars refuse to do so because of their desire for higher status. But many persons do follow the traditional occupation (Lewis with Barnouw 1958:chaps. 1, 2).

The Jajmani System

In villages like Rampur there is a system whereby goods and services are exchanged that has come to be known as the *jajmani* system. Understanding how this system works in a rural Indian village serves to make the caste system more comprehensible to a person from the Western world.

To contrast jajmani practices with our own, let us consider the problem of getting a haircut. In the United States a man who wants to get a haircut goes to a barbershop, waits for his turn, has his hair cut, pays for this service, and gives the barber a tip. If he lives in a city, he may go to many barbershops in the course of a year, not being obliged to patronize the same one all the time. In Rampur, however, there are no barbershops. If you are a Jat, a barber comes to your home or visits you in the fields. Payment is made, not when he has finished but at harvesttime. You can expect him to come around in about a month to

cut your hair again. It is always the same barber or a close relative of his, a brother or son, who cuts your hair. Maybe he is not a very good barber and you would rather have another one, but the rules do not permit it.

A barber has hereditary ties with certain Jat families whose hair he cuts. He does not serve all Jat families, for the barbers of a particular area have to divide up the clientele. The patron who is served in this system is called a *jajman*; the person performing the service is termed a *kamin*. A particular kamin family may have served a jajman family for many generations. The barber's father cut the hair of the jajman's father, and the barber's son will cut the hair of the jajman's son or grandson. At harvesttime, when the kamins present themselves at the fields, stipulated amounts of grain are handed out by the jajman to his kamins. There may be many of the latter, for the jajman has similar relations with families of other castes. A particular potter family presents him with clay vessels when needed during the year. Members of a particular Chamar family drag off his dead cows, skin them, and make sandals and other leather objects. A particular Bhangi family sweeps the jajman's courtyard and cleans his latrine. Thus, many goods and services are exchanged with little exchange of money.

Besides grain, kamins receive various other benefits from the system: a virtually free house site; some free food, fodder, and timber; and credit facilities and legal advice and aid from the jajmans. They are tied to their patron families in various ways. Nais (barbers), for example, used to be marriage go-betweens and helped to arrange the marriages of their jajman's children. Chamars did various kinds of fieldwork, repaired roofs, and dug wells, among other things. Each caste has a particular role to play at a wedding and may expect to receive some food and other handouts on that occasion. Lower castes exchange some goods and services among themselves.

The jajmani system is now breaking up in Rampur and many other villages because of an increasing involvement with the money economy outside these villages and because of the refusal of some lower-caste groups, particularly the Chamars, to perform their traditional services (Lewis with Barnouw 1958).

One might suppose that if the jajmani system is breaking up, the caste system itself might be disappearing in India, especially since the government has passed much legislation against the observance of untouchability and caste discrimination. However, that is not the case. Caste endogamy is still the rule. A small minority of well-to-do westernized persons are willing to marry across caste lines, but this is seldom done otherwise. In elections, castes tend to vote in blocs. There has probably been an increase in caste solidarity in recent years among low-caste groups, such as the Chamars, who are campaigning

for better treatment. Caste journals are published. There are caste hostels, banks, hospitals, and cooperatives. Separate seats are set aside for "Ex-Untouchables" in Parliament and state legislatures, and there are separate scholarships for them in schools and universities. These institutions paradoxically emphasize and perpetuate caste distinctions.

Castelike Groups in Africa

The term *caste system* has been applied to the African kingdom of Ruanda, which has a population of nearly two million. The situation is different from that of India with its thousands of caste groups, for in Ruanda there are only three main castes: (1) the Tutsi, who are the wealthiest and who own most of the cattle in the country; (2) the Hutu, the agriculturists; and (3) the Twa, who are hunters and potters. The Hutu make up 85 percent of the population; the Tutsi, 10 percent; and the Twa, 5 percent. The three groups have somewhat different physical appearance, the Tutsi being Nilotic, while the Hutu are of Forest Negro type and the Twa are pygmylike, although taller than the Pygmies.

The term *caste* seems justifiable here, since these groups are mainly endogamous, hierarchically ranked, and associated with different occupations. The Tutsi constitute the dominant group, exerting political control over the larger Hutu caste (Maquet 1960).

In Somalia some groups are treated in ways reminiscent of untouchability in India. Tanners and hunters, known as Midgan, are regarded as unclean and are tabooed in marriage. Similar attitudes are held concerning blacksmiths, who are considered inferior and defiling by the Masai.

Black-White Relations in the United States

In the 1940s some writers compared black-white relations in the Deep South of the United States with caste relations (Davis, Gardner, and Gardner 1941; Dollard 1949; Myrdal 1944). Although ideals of racial endogamy were upheld by both blacks and whites, the frequency of interbreeding shows that this particular criterion of caste was rather weak. The authors, however, pointed out that black-white marriages were not recognized in the South at the time of their research and that illegitimate offspring of a white man and a black woman were always classed as black.

Differences in occupation held to some extent between blacks and

whites, and this situation remains much the same today, since many blacks are of low socioeconomic class, poorly educated, and face barriers of prejudice (H. P. Miller 1964:90, 94, 95).

Emphases on endogamy and hierarchy are castelike features of a society. Orthodox Hindu religious traditions about the inherent inferiority of low castes find their American parallels in biblical texts that have sometimes been cited to support segregation. There is even a concept of untouchability or pollution, suggested by the separate wash-rooms and drinking fountains formerly characteristic of the South. Davis, Gardner, and Gardner (1941:16) write:

There remains a strong feeling that the color of the Negro is abhorrent and that contact with them may be contaminating. There is generally a strong feeling against eating or drinking from dishes used by Negroes, and most of the whites provide separate dishes for the use of their servants.

Although the application of the concept of caste to black-white relations is loose in some respects, there seem to be striking parallels with Hindu caste attitudes and practices and with Japanese-Eta relations (see page 250), suggesting regularities in social and psychological patterns in hierarchically structured societies.¹ It was the coexistence of this tendency toward hierarchic attitudes with American democratic traditions that led Gunnar Myrdal to term this problem an "American dilemma."

Cognitive Aspects of Hierarchy

With the development of castes and classes, the vertical axis acquired an interesting symbolic significance in human thought. Certain attitudes are built into some Indo-European languages and are expressed in several English words used in preceding pages, such as *superordinate* and *subordinate*, *upper* class and *lower* class. We distinguish between *high*- and *low*-ranking persons, *overlords* and *underlings*, *top* dog and *bottom* dog, and *high* man and *low* man on the totem pole. This kind of hierarchy is often expressed in myths and religious traditions. For example, according to one of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* of the Aryans, the four *varna*, or social divisions of India, sprang from different parts of a primeval man, the Brahmans (priests) from his mouth, the Kshatriya (warriors) from his arms, the Vaishya (peasants) from his thighs, and the Shudra (serfs) from his feet. (Basham

¹ Another somewhat parallel situation is to be found in Ladino-Indian relationships in Guatemalan communities (Tumin 1952).



Entrance to waiting room, train station, Atlanta, Georgia.
UPI Compix

1954:35). Here, the ranking of the *varna* corresponds with the vertical order.

Differences between castes in India are symbolized by sitting arrangements. In a North Indian village, if a low-caste man, such as a potter or water carrier, approaches a group of higher-ranking Rājputs who are sitting on string cots, he should not sit at their level but should squat on the ground some distance away. Similar practices are followed on the Indonesian island of Bali, where there are caste divisions based on the Hindu *varna*. A low-caste person should never be at a higher level than a high-caste person. Note how this “vertical” symbolism contrasts with the more “horizontal” and reciprocal symbolism concerning moieties discussed on page 158.

Class

Class differs from caste in lacking a kinship basis. Since a child is usually assigned to the class of its parents, and since persons often marry within their own class, the distinction may not seem clear. But in societies with class stratification it is possible for a person to move

either up or down the class hierarchy and to marry someone of a different class. In India a Chamar is always a Chamar, even if he changes his occupation and becomes well-to-do; a Brahman always remains a Brahman. Caste membership is more explicit and unalterable than class membership, although in some societies classes may be distinguished by different speech patterns and clothing and may thus seem quite distinct from one another and separated by marked social distance.

Class has been variously defined or determined by different writers. Some have used income or occupation for assigning class membership, while others have made use of additional criteria, such as type of housing, residence area, and prestige rating. Karl Marx, whose system of ideas made important use of the concept of class, defined class in terms of relationship to the means of production. The bourgeoisie are owners of the means of production, such as factories. Members of the proletariat, or working class, have no such ownership and must work for the bourgeoisie to earn a living. Although Marx also referred to other class groups in his writings, these two were the crucial ones from his point of view, for he believed that the future conflict between the workers of the world and the bourgeoisie would ultimately usher in the communist society.

Classes in Middletown

In their well-known study *Middletown*, Robert and Helen Lynd presented a view of class membership that was similar, if not identical, to the bourgeois-proletarian dichotomy. Middletown (a pseudonym) in Indiana was considered to be a "typical" U.S. community, with about 36,500 inhabitants, when it was studied by the Lynds in the 1920s. They saw Middletown, then, as being made up of two groups: the Working Class and the Business Class. The workers made things and performed services, while the businessmen sold and promoted things, services, and ideas. There were two and a half times as many people in the Working Class as in the Business Class. To quote the Lynds (1929:23-24):

The mere fact of being born upon one or the other side of the watershed roughly formed by these two groups is the most significant cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long throughout one's life; whom one marries; when one gets up in the morning; whether one belongs to the Holy Roller or Presbyterian church; or drives a Ford or a Buick; whether or not one's daughter makes the desirable high school Violet Club; or one's wife meets with the Sew We Do Club or with the Art Students' League.

In 1937 the Lynds published the results of a restudy of Middletown, whose population had since increased to almost 50,000. They found

that conditions, including the class structure, had changed somewhat. Without altogether giving up their former two-class division, they now set forth a series of six occupational groups, which in some ways resemble the six classes based on prestige rating, style of living, and other factors that W. L. Warner described for the New England town of "Yankee City" (Lynd and Lynd 1937:443-61).

Fifty years after the second Lynd study, Theodore Caplow et al. (1982:158) made another investigation of Middletown, in which they claimed that the barriers between the business class and the working class were much less marked than before:

By the 1970s, Middletown's factory workers were no longer at the bottom but nearly at the middle of the occupational distribution. They had job security, health insurance, paid vacations, and higher average incomes than the white-collar workers in the factory office. . . . The distinctive upper class that the Lynds saw emerging in Middletown in the 1930s had vanished by the 1970s. (1982:12-13)

If all of the Middletown studies are valid, it seems that class distinctions can change rapidly within a sixty-year period, at least in some parts of the United States.

Defining Class Membership

Analyses like those of the Lynds raise this question: Is a class something that exists in the minds of members of the society or something that exists in the mind of the sociologist? Middletowners often denied the reality or significance of class differences; nevertheless, according to the Lynds, their whole lives were being shaped by them. In this case, then, classes were distinguished by the observer rather than by the people themselves.

This is not always the case in class-stratified societies. Reporting on a questionnaire given to large numbers of persons in England, Geoffrey Gorer writes: "Nine out of ten English people feel no hesitation in assigning themselves to a social class. Five of them call themselves working class and three middle class" (Gorer 1955:34).²

Self-assignments to class groups are not always determined by income or occupation; subjective factors are often involved. Thus, one woman wrote: "I was born in the slums of London of working class parents and although I have attained a higher standard of living I still maintain I am working class" (Gorer 1955:34). Conversely, people who consider themselves to be middle class sometimes live in the slums and

² Here we note a contrast with the United States, where public opinion polls (like the *Fortune* magazine poll in 1940) have found that about 80 percent of Americans describe themselves as "middle class."

have low incomes. Identification with a particular class stems from family background as well as from occupation and income.

Warner took such subjective factors into account in drawing up a sixfold prestige-rank classification of 99 percent of the families in Yankee City, the name he gave a New England town with a population of about seventeen thousand. His classifications were as follows:

1. *Upper-upper*. Wealthy old families who have lived in the best neighborhoods for several generations; 1.4 percent of the population.
2. *Lower-upper*. Slightly richer in average income than the upper-upper but with less prestige because they are relative newcomers or because their wealth has been recently acquired; their manners are held to be less polished and their families less well established; 1.6 percent.
3. *Upper-middle*. Families of moderately successful business and professional men; 10.2 percent.
4. *Lower-middle*. Families of clerks, skilled and semiskilled workers, and wholesale and retail dealers; 28 percent.
5. *Upper-lower*. "Respectable" working-class families; 32.6 percent.
6. *Lower-lower*. Low-prestige working-class families; 25.2 percent (Warner and Lunt 1941).

This, then, is a partly subjective ordering of social classes, in contrast to Marx's distinction of classes in terms of relationship to the means of production. However, Warner's six groupings seem to correspond to social realities. This is suggested by another study made by Warner et al. (1949), that of a Midwestern town he called Jonesville, with a population of about six thousand. The same town was studied by August B. Hollingshead (1949), who named it Elmtown. Both sociologists, using different procedures, made prestige ratings of the community's families and came out with very similar results. Each distinguished five social classes. Since a number of such studies have yielded similar results, it seems that at least some U.S. cities and towns are stratified along some such lines.

Warner's system of classification would not seem to be applicable cross-culturally in non-Western stratified societies, where other models would have to be devised. Nor would it apply to the Soviet Union, which also has class stratification, though of a different order.³

³ One interpretation distinguished eight social classes in the Soviet Union in rank order as follows: the ruling elite, the superior intelligentsia, the general intelligentsia, the working-class aristocracy, the white-collar workers, the well-to-do peasants, the disadvantaged workers, and the forced-labor group (Inkeles 1950).

The Power Elite

One potential way of studying stratified systems cross-culturally would be to determine which people within a particular society make the important decisions. Except for atomistic societies in which there is little political centralization, most societies have people in positions of authority whose decisions affect many other persons. These are not exclusively political or governmental leaders; in the United States, for example, leaders of large corporations form part of the power elite. An upper class may be much larger than the core of leading decision makers, but it may be assumed that there is some sort of relationship between the core and the broader upper class; this relationship may be examined in any particular society.

In an effort to identify the power elite in the United States, G. William Domhoff has used both social and economic criteria, such as listing in the *Social Register*, attendance at one of a select group of prep schools such as Choate, membership in one of a select group of men's clubs, and substantial family wealth. Although friendships and marriages are apt to occur within this social level, it is an open class into which newcomers keep being admitted. The problem is to show that members of this wealthy class make important political decisions. Domhoff points out the predominant representation of its members in the universities, the big foundations, the Council on Foreign Affairs, the Foreign Policy Association, and the National Association of Manufacturers. This upper class, according to Domhoff, provides the main financial support for both the Republican and Democratic parties, and from its ranks often come the men who fill cabinet posts and act as presidential advisers. But there are many other sources of power on the American scene (labor unions, local politicians), and the upper class obviously does not control all aspects of American life. Moreover, it does not seem to share a unified viewpoint; one could not predict how "it" would act in any given situation (Domhoff 1967).

Despite the differences in economic and political systems in the Soviet Union and the United States, there are special rewards in both nations for persons with advanced, specialized education and for persons in managerial positions. Such persons receive much higher salaries in the Soviet Union than do common laborers. The top elite level consists of *apparatchiki*, full-time Communist party functionaries and their families. H. Gordon Skilling (1971:379-80) roughly estimates the number of the Soviet elite as follows: "100,000 to 200,000 *apparatchiki*, 100,000 managers in heavy industry, several 100,000 military officers, perhaps the same number of military police, 100,000 lawyers, 300,000 economists (including planners and statisticians), and 6,000 writers (members of the Writer's Union)." Like the American power elite,



Homeless people in
New York City pre-
paring a meal.
Tannenbaum/Sygma

these groups do not share a unified viewpoint but often have conflicting interests and goals.

The Culture of Poverty

There are different ways of defining poverty or deciding which persons make up "the poor." One way is to establish a particular income level. One writer, for example (Gallaway 1973), used a salary of \$3,000 per year per family as a standard, below which families were said to be poor. That was then close to the poverty income line of \$3,335 for a nonfarm family of four, established in the late sixties by the Social Security Administration. Another way of defining poverty is to arbitrarily take the families in the bottom fifth of the income distribution. One might also gauge poverty in terms of the presence or absence of certain goods or facilities, such as baths and inside toilets, but this may give conflicting evidence since there are families that lack baths and inside toilets but nevertheless have automobiles or TV sets.

Whatever index is used to define poverty, the poor must be considered numerous. In *The Other America* (1962), Michael Harrington estimated that the poor make up about one-fourth of our population, somewhere between forty million and fifty million people. If such a high estimate surprises the reader, it may be because much present-day poverty is invisible, at least to some of the population. As Harrington put it, poverty is often off the beaten track, away from the

freeways, hidden in rural areas like Appalachia; and urban slums may be bypassed or only briefly glimpsed by suburban dwellers. Writing twenty years later, Harrington found that his estimate of the number of the poor in the United States has remained about the same as in the 1960s, in spite of President Lyndon Johnson's declaration of a war on poverty in 1964 and despite recent claims by some conservative economists that the rate of poverty has been declining. Among other sources, Harrington cites Mollie Orshansky's 1974 estimate that the poor numbered 55.4 million (Harrington 1984:81, 88).

Although there are traditions that idealize poverty, most people seem to regard it with disfavor. Several books and articles have presented evidence that there is more mental disorder among the poor than among higher classes. Best known among these studies is one by August Hollingshead and Fredrick Redlich (1958), who divided the population of New Haven into five socioeconomic classes. They found that in the lowest class (Class V) the incidence of psychoses was almost three times as great as the two highest classes (I and II) and twice the rate for Class IV.

Some writers have argued that poverty is not just a condition but a way of life that tends to perpetuate itself. A "culture of poverty," according to Oscar Lewis, is apt to appear in societies that have a cash economy with low wages and a high rate of unemployment for unskilled labor. It appears in societies having a bilateral kinship system rather than corporate lineal ones. Other features that encourage the development of a culture of poverty are the absence or weakness of government aid to the poor and lack of concern about them among the better-off segments of the population.

According to Lewis (1968:xlili-xliv), these are some aspects of the culture of poverty: lack of participation by the poor in the institutions of the larger society, except for jails, army, and public relief; absence of savings, shortage of cash, and, hence, much pawning and borrowing; low levels of literacy and education; hatred of police and mistrust of government; briefness of protected childhood; early experience with sex; lack of privacy; consensual marriages; illegitimacy; wife abandonment; and mother-centered families. On the part of the individual there are feelings of inadequacy and dependence, maternal deprivation, a poorly developed ego, confusion about sexual identity, a habit of living for the moment and an absence of planning, fatalism, and an absence of class-consciousness.

Since many of the features listed have often been reported for poor communities, it would seem to be a plausible hypothesis that a particular kind of culture has developed in many different areas in response to similar conditions as a sort of cross-cultural regularity. If this is indeed a separate culture or subculture, it might help to explain the persistence of poverty in rundown areas. By the age of six or seven,

according to Lewis, slum children have usually absorbed the dominant values and attitudes of the culture of poverty, and they are not psychologically prepared thereafter to take advantage of new opportunities. Some anthropologists who have worked in slum areas see the matter differently, however. Elliot Liebow, for example, has written (1967:223):

No doubt, each generation does provide role models for each succeeding one. Of much greater importance for the possibility of change, however, is the fact that many similarities between the lower-class Negro father and son (or mother and daughter) do not result from "cultural transmission" but from the fact that the son goes out and independently experiences the same failures, in the same areas, and for much the same reasons as his father.

Summary

Caste and class stratification are found mainly in advanced civilizations. There is usually not much internal ranking in hunting-gathering societies or simple horticultural societies.

A Hindu caste is an endogamous, hierarchically ranked social group, which is sometimes associated with a particular occupation. Concepts of pollution are associated with the lowest-ranking castes, such as sweepers and leatherworkers, who often live in segregated quarters and use separate wells. In Indian villages there are exchanges of goods and services between occupational caste groups involving little use of money. Although the *jajmani system*, as this system is known, is now breaking up, that has not led to a decline in the caste system itself. Caste endogamy is still the rule.

Castelike groups have been reported for some societies outside India, such as the African kingdom of Ruanda. Relations between higher castes and untouchables have found some parallels in white-black relations in the United States and in the position of the Eta, a leather-working group in Japan.

Class differs from caste in lacking a kinship base. Karl Marx defined class according to the ownership of means of production, resulting in the twofold division of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or working class. W. L. Warner took subjective factors into account in drawing up a sixfold division of the classes in a New England town. Some other American sociologists have found similar divisions in other American communities.

There are different ways of defining poverty. One way is to establish a particular income level as designating the poor. Another way is to take the families in the bottom fifth of the income distribution. Or one may determine poverty in terms of the presence or absence of certain

goods or facilities, such as baths and inside toilets. Whichever index is used, the poor must be considered numerous in the United States.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A standard work on caste is J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins*, 3d ed. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1961). For a more recent analysis, see Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: An Essay on the Caste System* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). For comparisons between India's untouchables, the Eta of Japan, and American blacks, see George De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, eds., *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

For cross-cultural studies of class stratification, see Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966); and Joseph A. Kahl, ed., *Comparative Perspectives on Stratification: Mexico, Great Britain, Japan* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968). For class stratification in the United States, see the studies by the Lynds, Warner, and others cited in the chapter and Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1957).

See also Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).



Windows on Three Cultures III

The Inuit

The Inuit, with their small, mobile communities, could not afford the luxury of having such institutions as secret societies, castes, or classes. Boas (1888:604ff.) described a festival in which the people were divided into those born in winter, who were called *ptarmigans*, and those born in summer, who were called *ducks*. This division might conceivably have formed the basis for some sort of dual social organization, but it was used only to provide two teams for a tug-of-war. Birket-Smith remarked: "There are neither chiefs, nobility, nor slaves. No clan system and no secret society lay bonds upon the initiative of the individual" (Birket-Smith 1929, pt. 1:259).

It was different among some of the western Alaskan Eskimos, such as those of Nunivak Island, where there were distinctions between rich and poor families. However, wealth was achieved through the hard work of a husband-wife team and there were no fixed hereditary status distinctions between families. At Nunivak and other Alaskan settlements there were separate men's houses, where the men slept and where dances and festivals were celebrated. Margaret Lantis believes that formerly, in some of these Alaskan communities, all the adult males formed a kind of secret society that intimidated the women and



A well-to-do Alaskan Eskimo couple from Point Hope, Alaska.
*Steve McCutcheon/
Alaska Pictorial
Service*

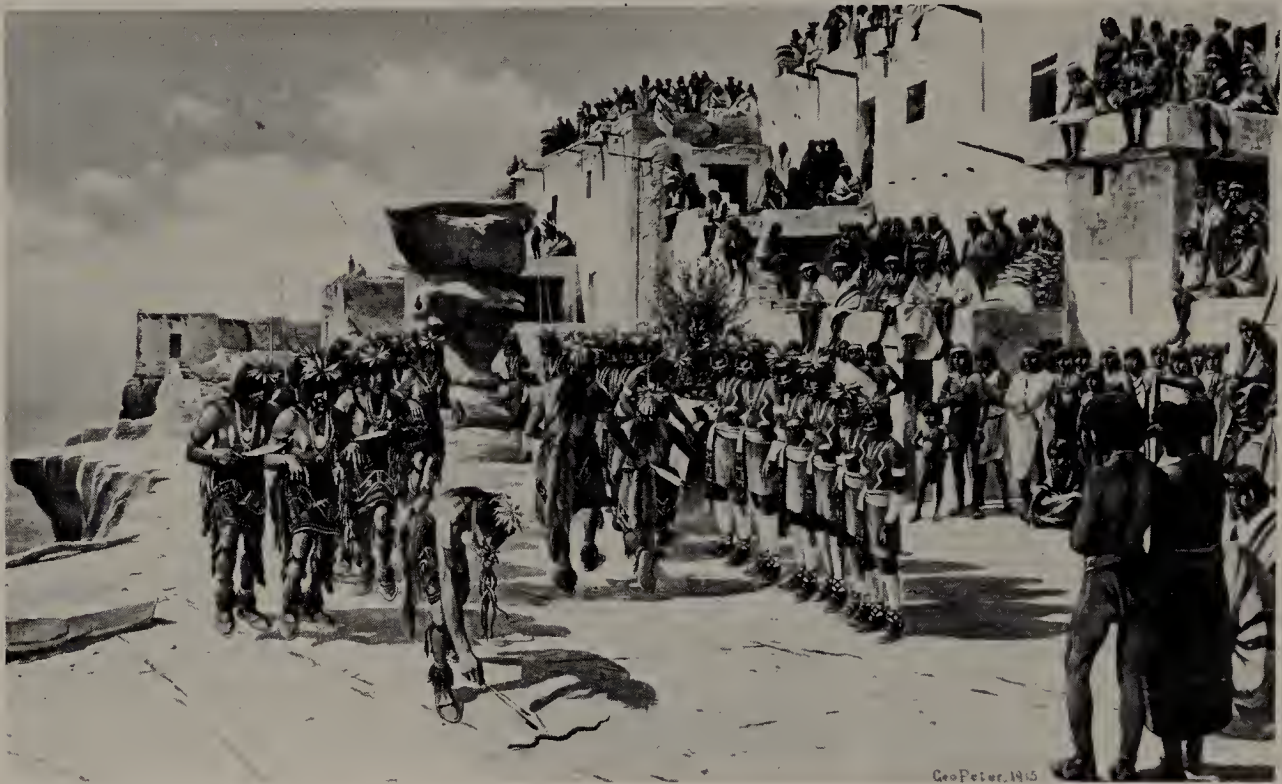
children. There were initiations for youths into the ranks of the adult males (Lantis 1947:27-28). Slavery has also been reported for the southernmost Alaskan Eskimos. But none of these practices were found among the Central Eskimos.

The Hopi of Arizona

The Hopi cannot be said to have castes or classes, but some clans, such as the Bear clan, are considered to be more important than others through their connection with particular ceremonies and mythical traditions.

Voluntary associations play most important roles in this society, and initiations generate much tension and emotion. The Hopi cult of the *katchinas* involves both a calendrical cycle and initiation ceremonies for the young. The *katchinas* are ancestral spirits, believed in by the Hopi, who are also spirits of the rain clouds. They are said to spend half the year in the San Francisco Mountains and the other half among the Hopi. During the latter period they are impersonated by men who wear large masks.

According to Hopi mythology, friendly *katchinas* accompanied the Hopi in their emergence from the underworld and helped them with rain dances when the Hopi began to plant crops. They left the Hopi to



Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi, Arizona. From mural by George Peters, Milwaukee Public Museum.

go and live in the San Francisco Mountains but left behind their masks, rattles, and other paraphernalia. Since then, the Hopi have impersonated the katchinas and worn their masks in order to bring rain and fertility to their fields.

The masked impersonations are held between the winter and summer solstices, beginning late in November. Dances are performed in *kivas*, underground chambers. At the Powamu ceremony in February, beans are grown in heated kivas, a seemingly miraculous event in the middle of winter, and the bean sprouts are distributed among the people. When the weather gets warmer, katchina dances are held outside in the plaza. These are impressive, well-rehearsed performances. At the end of their half-year stay, there is a final ceremony to bid good-bye to the departing katchinas.

Adults, of course, know that the masked beings are Hopi men in disguise, but children think that the katchinas are real spirits, and they do not discover the true identity of the men in disguise until their initiation into the katchina cult.

The katchina initiation, held every fourth year, is for boys and girls between the ages of six and ten. On this occasion the boys are naked, but the girls wear dresses. They are taken into a kiva, the underground ceremonial chamber, which becomes filled with masked katchinas. A boy, held by a ceremonial godfather, is whipped by one of the katchinas. The children are thus whipped in turn, the girls receiving

gentler treatment than the boys. If a boy has been unruly, as Don Talayesva,³ the author of *Sun Chief* was, he may get a severe flogging; indeed, Don received permanent scars from his whipping.

Four days later, in another ceremony in the kiva, the boys and girls see the katchinas without their masks and discover that they are older brothers, fathers, uncles, and neighbors. The children are then warned never to tell this secret to uninitiated children lest they be flogged more severely than before—perhaps even to death. This experience has been described by some Hopi informants as extremely disillusioning. Nevertheless, it seems to have the intended effect, for Don Talayesva writes in his autobiography, “I thought of the flogging and the initiation as an important turning point in my life, and I felt ready at last to listen to my elders and to live right” (Simmons 1942:87).

The various Hopi dances and ceremonies are carried out by the members of the particular kiva groups. There used to be thirteen such groups at Oraibi. It was mentioned in the Windows on Three Cultures II section that each clan has an ancestral house where clan fetishes are kept in the custody of the clan ceremonial head, a brother of the clan “mother.” This man is also the leader of a kiva group that has the responsibility for carrying out a particular ceremony in the calendrical cycle. To that extent there is a link between kiva and clan, but members of the kiva group may come from any clan in the community, for the group is a voluntary association that plays the role of a secret society. A young man is introduced to a particular kiva group by a ceremonial father. “Boys of six or eight years of age normally start their religious lives by being initiated into the Katchina cult. Not long after that they usually join one or two Flute societies and either the Snake or the Antelope order. Before their 20th birthdays they are expected to enter any one of the four cooperating fraternities that jointly conduct the Tribal Initiation ceremonies; after which they may climax their careers by being admitted to the Soyal observances” (Titiev 1950:368).

Ownership of the Soyal ceremony is vested in the Bear clan, whose leader serves as the village chief, and the Soyal ceremonies are held in a kiva which is referred to as *Chief Kiva*. The aim of the ceremony is to get the sun to start heading north to bring warm weather and the planting of crops.

Women also take part in the ceremonial round. There are three women’s societies, similar to those of the men.

Contemporary Japan

During the Tokugawa period, from 1603 to 1868, Japan had a system of four classes modeled after that of traditional China. The

warrior-bureaucrats, the *samurai*, took the place of China's scholar-bureaucrats at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the peasants, the artisans, and the merchants, in that order. Detailed sumptuary laws were drawn up to fix class lines. The size of a farmer's house was determined by the amount of rice he grew; whether or not a person could wear silk was also affected by his or her class status. "The regulations specified the kinds of combs, if any, the hair ornaments, and even the thongs of sandals worn by women of each class; the dolls permitted to the children were listed in detail, by classes, to say nothing of the kinds of food and even the forms of speech" (Haring 1956:431).

However, the four-class system quickly dissolved after the Meiji Restoration, in 1868. In 1876 the samurai were forbidden to wear their swords and lost their former privileges and stipends. Today, according to Reischauer (1977:160-61), consciousness of class distinctions is relatively weak in Japan and Japanese do not identify themselves in class terms or, if pressed, identify themselves as middle class. There are no class accents like those of England. Generally, high educational standards and qualifying examinations for employment diminish the significance of inherited class advantages.

There is one castelike exception, however, the case of the Eta, leatherworkers whose position in Japan was remarkably like that of the Hindu Chamars of India.

The Eta of Japan

Like the Chamars and similar groups in Tibet and Korea, the Eta traditionally work with dead animals in removing carcasses, butchering, and shoemaking and other leatherwork. The Hindu notion that work with dead animals and hides is defiling was evidently diffused along with Buddhism to Tibet, Korea, and Japan. In the seventh, eighth, and subsequent centuries in Japan, legislation was passed forbidding hunting and slaughtering, and Shinto notions of uncleanness became associated with meat eating; but it was apparently not until the Tokugawa period that the Eta became distinguished as a kind of untouchable caste, required to marry within their own group and to live in separate Eta villages. They were sometimes obliged to wear a patch of leather sewn on the kimono, to walk on one side of the street, and to observe various other restrictions similar to those affecting the Chamars in India.

The Eta were officially emancipated by government edict in 1871, but their lot has not greatly improved and they still live in ghettos. Like the Chamars in northern India, many Eta have refused to remove the carcasses of dead animals and to continue leatherwork. Self-improvement and protest movements and demands for integration provide parallels with such developments in India and the United States.

Although the Eta are racially indistinguishable from other Japanese and hence "invisible," they are not unidentifiable. Since their homes are restricted to Eta neighborhoods, their addresses give them away and "passing" is very difficult (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1966).

It has often been noted that Japanese work very effectively in groups. Voluntary associations are as important in Japanese life as they are in the United States, perhaps even more so.

There are great congeries of women's associations. Youth groupings are important. The Parent Teachers Association, known in Japan as in the United States as the PTA, is a far more influential and well-organized body, particularly in rural Japan, than its American prototype. There are numberless hobby groups for everything from judo and the other martial sports to the gentler arts of flower arrangement and tea ceremony, all tightly organized and occupying a larger role in the lives of their members than would usually be the case in the United States. (Reischauer 1977:133)

Many new religious cults in Japan have large memberships, particularly Soka Gakkai, a Buddhist sect that has perhaps six million members.

Suggestions for Further Reading

On the Eskimo: For comparative material from western Alaska, where there is some social stratification, see Margaret Lantis, "The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 35 (1946): 153-323; and Margaret Lantis, *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism*, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XI (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1947).

An inside view of Hopi ceremonial life, the katchina cult, and initiation ceremonies is provided in Leo Simmons, ed., *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942). This is the most detailed autobiography of an American Indian.

For caste tendencies in Japan, see George A. De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, eds., *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). There is some discussion of class structure in Ronald P. Dore, *Shinohata: A Portrait of a Japanese Village* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

Part Five

Political Organization, Law, and Warfare





Political Organization

A political unit occupying a particular territory is faced with two requirements: to preserve order within its ranks and to regulate relations with outside groups. Every society has rules of conduct, but rules are not automatically obeyed. They have to be enforced in some way by someone or other, if they are held to be important for the society's continuance and well-being.

Societies are also characterized by internal conflict and competition between persons and groups, which need to be worked out or controlled in some way.

Conflicts occur in all societies, and this is not necessarily unfortunate or harmful. In some cases, conflict within a group may help to establish, or reestablish, unity. Indeed, Lewis A. Coser (1956:151) has argued that such conflicts may be positively functional for the social structure when they concern goals, values, or interests that do not contradict the basic assumptions on which the social structure is founded. However, conflict may be experienced as stressful and dangerous by members of a society, especially by supporters of the status quo. It is to their interest, and often to the interest of most members of the society, to resolve conflicts and prevent their further spread. Whether we label it as law or not, some means of conflict resolution must exist. This is another function of political authority.

Social control and conflict resolution concern internal order. But a

political community must also deal with outside groups and may engage in warfare, which may strengthen the authority of the political leadership, at least temporarily. Some societies have developed different leadership offices for the two spheres of internal and external relations, having both a "peace chief" and a "war chief"; but more often the political locus of authority deals with both internal control and external affairs.

In this chapter we will examine how these issues are handled in societies with different bases of subsistence. Following the general approach employed in Chapter 5, we will deal in turn with (1) hunting-gathering societies, (2) simple horticultural societies, (3) pastoral societies, (4) advanced horticultural societies, (5) agricultural societies, and (6) industrial societies. While these categories do not always permit neat generalizations, they do provide a rough evolutionary framework that can help us to look for possible cross-cultural regularities. We will begin with societies in which there is little political authority, in which headmen have little power. Yet these societies are viable systems. One reason for this is that proper behavior on the part of a society's members is not determined by fear of punishment alone. There are other deterrents or sanctions to antisocial behavior.

According to Radcliffe-Brown (1952:205), "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." Praise is a positive sanction: applause, awards, medals, the good opinion of one's neighbors. Disapproval is a negative sanction: ostracism, blacklisting, unpopularity. Fear of sorcery is a negative sanction that may serve to inhibit aggression. Fear of ghosts, punitive ancestors, or eternal damnation after death may also contribute to good behavior during this life in different societies. Laws that punish offenders are negative sanctions, but sanctions are a more inclusive category, found in all societies, whether they have law courts and prisons or not. These sanctions are learned in the process of socialization as one grows up.

Hunting-Gathering Societies

Hunting-gathering societies usually have little political organization. A band may have a headman or chief, but he does not normally exercise much authority over its members. The term *atomistic* has sometimes been used to describe groups such as the Canadian Ojibwa (or Chippewa), the Great Basin Shoshone, and the Central Eskimos. These peoples lived under ecological conditions that favored dispersal at certain seasons; their groups were small and scattered. It was not

difficult for the component units, such as families, to break away from the larger group. Hence, it would often be hard for a headman to apply social sanctions against an errant band member.

Among the Canadian Ojibwa there was village life during the summer months, when between three and fifteen families came together; during the winter months these families broke up to take maximum advantage of the game resources. The families did not always return to the same village sites. Villages were not stable in numbers or location over any considerable period of time.

Pygmy bands in the Congo have been described as frequently breaking up and regrouping in different patterns. This fission and fusion has the function of maintaining peace; if a quarrel threatens, the band may split. This shifting band composition would make it difficult for a headman to wield much authority.

Headmen among the Bushmen of Botswana have such responsibilities as planning the band's movements, but their authority is relatively weak. Lorna Marshall (1967:38) writes: "Headmanship is not especially advantageous to the individual. Among the !Kung, each person does his own work, carries his own load, and shares meat. Headmen are as thin as the rest. No regalia, special honours, or tributes mark them out."

Among the Sirionó of eastern Bolivia, according to Allan Holmberg (1950:59), "there is no obligation to obey the orders of a chief, no punishment for nonfulfillment. Indeed, little attention is paid to what is said by a chief unless he is a member of one's immediate family."

Under such circumstances, informal sanctions must operate to control aggression. There seems to have been little murder, theft, or open show of hostility among the Canadian Ojibwa. A. Irving Hallowell (1955:278) attributed this to a widespread fear of sorcery, which served to check the expression of aggression. Beatrice B. Whiting found similar conditions among the Paiute Indians in Harney Valley, Oregon. There were no true chiefs and no council of elders. "Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery" (Whiting 1950:13). A cross-cultural survey carried out by Whiting showed that sorcery is a more important factor in atomistic societies than in societies containing persons or groups who have the authority to settle disputes and exact punishments.

Not all hunting-gathering societies lack political organization. With the emphasis on relative rank in Northwest Coast Indian tribes, high-ranking chiefs seem to have had more political power than in most hunting societies. Another exception was found among mounted hunters such as the horse-riding Indians of the Great Plains and their counterparts in Patagonia and the Gran Chaco in South America.



A Samoan chief. *Jack Fields/Photo Researchers*

Simple Horticultural Societies

Simple horticultural societies are those in which the digging stick is the chief farming tool. Such societies have been found in parts of North and South America and in Pacific islands, including New Guinea but not Australia. Simple horticultural societies are not very different from hunting-gathering societies in community size and other features, but they are sometimes larger and less egalitarian. Gerhard E. Lenski (1966:139) has argued that in simple horticultural societies headmen have more prerogatives than they have in hunting-gathering bands. They may wear special clothes or insignia, and they may be addressed in a more formal way than others. In some cases, such headmen practice polygyny. This increase in power may sometimes be due to the chief's role as an agent in the redistribution of goods.

The Melanesians have the term *big-man* for a self-made leader of a type that Sahlins (1968:42) also finds in Plains Indian tribes. A Melanesian big-man does not succeed to office but acquires authority through his generosity, which binds a group of followers to him. "Other

skills and personal qualities are often required for prestige: magical power, oratorical ability, perhaps bravery; but the economic maneuvers are usually decisive: amassing goods—pigs, vegetable foods, and shell monies—and distributing them in ways that build a name for cavalier generosity” (Sahlins 1968:88).

Horticultural societies in South America, Polynesia, and New Guinea frequently engage in warfare, which may contribute to the relatively high status of the headman or chief. The warfare is sometimes over land resources, but that is not always the reason for such fighting (Vayda 1961; Chagnon 1968).

The generosity expected of a big-man or chief should serve to restrain exploitative tendencies to some extent. Moreover, slash-and-burn (or swidden) horticulture has a centrifugal influence on settlement patterns, which should discourage political centralization and the influence of chiefs (Sahlins 1968:31).

Pastoral Societies

Since societies classified as pastoral live in different kinds of environments (grasslands, deserts, steppes) and herd different kinds of animals (cattle, camels, sheep, goats, horses, reindeer, yak), they form a heterogeneous category that is difficult to generalize about. Moreover, pastoral societies differ widely in population density, and it seems likely that there would be more political centralization in the pastoral groups that have greater density (Kradler 1965). Some pastoralists are mounted horsemen; others are not. Despite this heterogeneity, many pastoral societies in both Asia and Africa have segmentary lineage systems with little political organization.

Most pastoralists are forced to be mobile, since their herds eat grass and must move on to new pasture grounds as an area becomes overgrazed. Moreover, the herds need water, and as they trample and soil watercourses, they must be moved to unspoiled areas. The nomadic way of life of pastoralists often has atomistic tendencies, making it possible for groups to segment and split off. Fredrik Barth (1961:25–26) has described the situation among the Basseri tribe of South Persia, in which camp members are faced with daily decisions about whether to move or stay put and about which routes to follow next:

These decisions are the very stuff of a pastoral nomad existence; they spell the difference between growth and prosperity of the herds, or loss and poverty. Every household head has an opinion, and the prosperity of his household is dependent on the wisdom of his decision. Yet a single disagreement on this question between members of the camp leads to fission of the camp as a group—by next evening they will be separated by

perhaps 20 km of open steppe and by numerous other camps, and it will have become quite complicated to arrange for a reunion.

On the other hand, a factor leading to political centralization in pastoral societies is organization for warfare. Cattle-herding pastoralists often engage in fighting and raiding. In such societies the main form of wealth is cattle, and cattle are easy to steal. If herds become depleted by disease or enemy raids, they must be replenished. So pastoral societies, such as the Karimojong and the Nuer of the Nilotic Sudan, go in for much fighting over cattle. As far as the Nuer are concerned, there is almost no political centralization. There are other pastoral tribes, however, in which a militant ruling group has developed aristocratic traditions and established itself as a political elite.

The Bahima of Uganda are a pastoral people who have overpowered and dominate the Bairu, who are farmers. The Bahima have become a ruling class; the Bairu are serfs. The Bahima developed some feudal tendencies; thus, a man swore loyalty to his king and promised to follow him in war when called upon to do so. He was also obliged to hand over some of the cattle acquired in a private raid. In return, the king protected his subject's cattle from outside raiders and would help him start a new herd if all of his cattle were stolen or died of disease. Only the Bahima were allowed to own productive cows; the Bairu could own only barren cows. These two groups were endogamous and could not intermarry. Hence, they had a kind of caste system, to which was added a still lower class or caste of slaves; they thus formed a stratified society comparable to that of the Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa of Ruanda, discussed previously.

The Bahima king was believed to be sacred, the supreme authority. He had a chief military adviser and an entourage of warriors. Subordinate chiefs carried out his orders and supervised the collection of tribute. A Bahima chief acted as a redistributive agent, giving his followers articles made for him by Bairu craftsmen as well as some of the beer and millet porridge that came to him as tribute (Oberg 1940).

Something like a state system exists in some pastoral tribes, while others have little political centralization. At the more advanced level there may be formal court procedures and the announcement of decisions by a judge or judges. In societies that lack such features, there must be some other means of conflict resolution, such as resort to blood feuds, payment of compensation, and employment of a go-between.

Blood Feud and Compensation

The Tiv of Nigeria and the Nuer and Dinka of the Nilotic Sudan have segmentary lineage systems. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the lineage is

a political unit having collective responsibility in blood vengeance in these societies; much feuding goes on between lineage groups. A murder is not punished by a superordinate state; instead, there is retaliation by members of the dead man's lineage. In such a society, if a member of lineage A kills a member of lineage B, someone of lineage B is likely to kill either the murderer or some other member of his lineage. This retaliation need not be seen as punishment; in some societies it restores balance between lineages that should have equal status. John Beattie (1964:175) has written:

Only one life should be taken for one life, and in some societies, such as that of the Berbers of North Africa, the requirement of exact equivalence demands that the person killed in revenge must be of the same standing as the original victim. So if a man in one group kills a woman in another, the object of the injured group will be not to kill the murderer, but to kill a woman on their opponent's side.

The very existence of the institution of blood feud must serve to restrain aggression to some extent, since a potential murderer knows that either he or a relative will die if his victim dies.

To prevent a blood feud from developing, a murderer may try to offer compensation to the offended lineage. Among the Nuer, who are horticulturists as well as pastoralists, a murderer goes to the home of an official called *leopard skin chief*. Since the latter is believed to have some sanctity, his home is a haven for the murderer; the dead man's kinsmen cannot attack him there. After performing some sacrifices and purification rites for the murderer, the leopard skin chief may act as a go-between or mediator between the two lineages. He will find out how much cattle the murderer's kinsmen possess, what they are willing to pay in compensation, and whether the murdered man's relatives will accept it. The leopard skin chief has no judicial or executive authority; he cannot compel anyone to accept a settlement.

In some African societies where cattle are accepted in compensation, they serve the role of replacement. The cattle may be used to acquire a wife who will bear children for the lineage.

Go-betweens

The Nuer leopard skin chief is an example of the *go-between*, an institution that is often found in politically decentralized societies. Another example is afforded by the Ifugao of the Philippines, who also lack political organization. They do not have clans but close-knit bilateral groups of kinsmen who support one another in quarrels with other groups. When a man seeks compensation for a wrong or an insult, he goes to a member of the Ifugao upper class and asks him to act as go-between. If this person agrees, he goes back and forth with claims,

proposals, counterclaims, and counterproposals. Like the Nuer leopard skin chief, he has no authority to impose a settlement; he is more like the arbitrator in a labor dispute who tries to get both parties to agree on a compromise. If the go-between fails, a feud develops—a serious matter, for the Ifugao of former times were headhunters. In the cases of the Nuer and the Ifugao, there are no courts of law, but there are methods of conflict resolution.

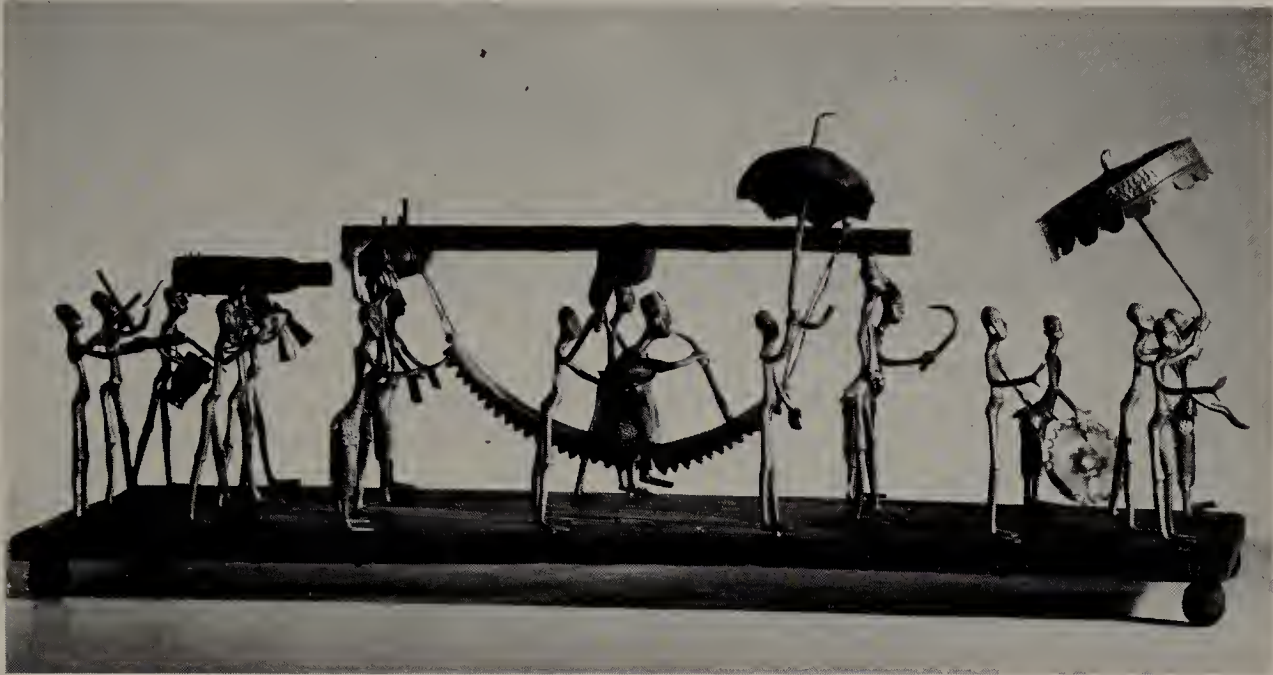
In societies with more advanced political organization, the state may insist upon the right to punish murderers, and the institution of blood feud declines. The degree of political centralization may be gauged by this factor. The Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan had a “divine king” who was an important symbol of unity for his tribe but otherwise was no more than a figurehead, having no real political authority. This is expressed in the fact that blood feud flourished among the Shilluk. This “kingdom” was like a segmentary lineage system with a symbolic but powerless ruler at its head.

From Chieftdom to State

Elman R. Service (1975) derives the formation of states from chieftdoms that have redistributive economic systems. The reader will recall that redistribution is a system of economic exchange in which goods are funneled to a central place of storage and then distributed by a central authority such as a chief (Chapter 6). This economic role gives the chief a good deal of political influence. Service claims that primogeniture (inheritance by the oldest son) is an almost universal feature of chieftdoms, which permits their perpetuation. Chiefly authority is usually combined with religious authority; the chief is either a priest or is associated with a priesthood. In this capacity the chief may mobilize his followers to build large constructions such as burial mounds or pyramids (Service 1975:chap. 4).

Similar views about the role of redistribution in chieftdoms have been expressed by Marshall Sahlins (1972:chap. 5) and Colin Renfrew (1973:chap. 11). Marvin Harris (1977:76) argues that when the redistributing chief and his followers become coercive, the voluntary donations to the chief become taxes and the chief becomes a king. It is in this way that a bridge is made from an egalitarian condition of society to the hierarchic state.

Advanced horticultural societies in Africa often had a high degree of political organization. Both Ralph Linton and George P. Murdock have stressed the autocratic aspects of such African kingdoms as Uganda and Dahomey. Some of these were large states numbering hundreds of thousands of persons. The king was often believed to be divine and had



Chief of Dahomey and entourage. Bronze casting from Benin, West Africa, showing symbolic attributes of high status—litter, umbrellas, and attendants. *The American Museum of Natural History*

the power of life and death over his subjects. He lived in ritual isolation; held court, surrounded by attendants, officials, and symbols of office; and maintained a harem. He dispensed justice and was the court of last appeal. Under the king there was a bureaucracy that collected taxes and supervised corvée labor. The leading ministers formed a council to advise the king (Linton 1955:463; Murdock 1959:37–39). Following the views of Service, Renfrew, and Harris, this political centralization could be interpreted in terms of the chief's or king's exploitation of his control over redistribution. It may be, however, that some aspects of African kingdoms were influenced by nineteenth-century contacts with European and Arab traders relating to the slave trade (Service 1968:164–65).

Royal Lineages

When a kingdom becomes established, it is likely that the king's lineage will come to be seen as more important than other lineages. In such cases, measures may be taken by the royal lineage to retain its power and authority.

Among the Swazi of southeastern Africa there is a royal couple who act as the symbolic parents of the people. They appeal to their royal ancestors to help the nation, just as an ordinary Swazi household head appeals to his own ancestors to aid his family. Although clan exogamy

is normally practiced in this society, the royal clan is segmented into subclans, which enables the king to marry closely related women and thus keeps the ruling line restricted in numbers. Sisters and daughters of the king are sent as wives to important chiefs, to spread the influence of the royal family (Kuper 1950:86-87, 110).

The development of a royal lineage is one way for a ruler to establish a group of persons on whom he can count for support. Another way of achieving the same goal is to forge bonds with a body of unrelated retainers who owe loyalty to their ruler. Since closely related kinsmen may become rivals to the throne, kings have sometimes placed more trust in dependent, unrelated henchmen than in such kinsmen.

An important way of resolving conflicts in advanced horticultural societies in Africa is the court system, with a judge such as a chief or king, witnesses, the hearing of testimony, and the announcement of decisions. A common aspect of court procedure is taking oaths to ensure truthfulness. Ordeals are sometimes administered to test the honesty of the accused.

Agricultural Societies

As was noted in Chapter 5, agricultural societies with more advanced farming techniques than horticulture developed in Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus Valley, Shang China, Southeast Asia, Peru, and Mexico. The advanced techniques in the Old World involved the use of irrigation, the plow, and draft animals. Terracing and fertilization were used in Peru, and irrigation and *chinampas* in Mexico. These were areas in which city life and class stratification developed, along with much political centralization. The strengthening of political control in these societies may have been partly due to the increased density of population and conflict with neighboring groups.

The Hydraulic Theory

One view, that of Karl A. Wittfogel, is that political centralization was related to the practice of irrigation. Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism* (1957) is a comparative study of what he has called "hydraulic societies," including the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China and the Peru of the Inca. He believes that in these societies, where the state controlled the irrigation network, the ruling bureaucracy became an upper class with despotic power. In contrast to the situation in the feudal societies of Europe and Japan, there were no countervailing forces that could be balanced against the government, and the dominant religion was closely attached to the state. The absence of any other center of power gave such states the despotic hold

they maintained over their subjects. The monumental constructions, pyramids, tombs, and ziggurats raised in such societies testify to the power of the state and its dominant religion and to the ability of the state to control large masses of labor.

Wittfogel's ideas seem convincing; they appear to show the operation of cross-cultural regularities in the development of early civilizations and to draw together several interrelated aspects of culture in one explanatory framework. Some criticisms have been made of the hydraulic theory, however (Eberhard 1958, 1965). First of all, there are despotic societies that have had no connection with irrigation, and there are societies that make much use of irrigation but have not become despotic (such as Holland, Belgium, northern Italy). Wittfogel felt obliged to link Russian despotism in some way with irrigation and did so in a peculiarly roundabout manner. Patterns of despotic rule, he explained, were introduced into Russia (which lacked an irrigation economy) by the thirteenth-century nomadic Mongols (who also lacked it) (Wittfogel 1957:191-93, 205).

Wolfram Eberhard does not agree with the assertion that there were no other important sources of power besides the state in China and India. He refers to secret societies, the Buddhist church, organized artisan groups, and federations of landowning gentry in China and castes in India. He does not agree that the governments were always powerful or effective in these countries.

Eberhard claims that from Sung times on (and thus perhaps earlier), the impetus to construct irrigation works in China often came from individuals rather than from the state, as Wittfogel's theory would assume. Religious organizations and village assemblies also undertook such projects. In northern China, where the Shang Dynasty developed and wheat and millet were raised, irrigation was not really vital. It became more important, after Chinese civilization had already developed, in the later rice culture of the south.

A similar criticism has been made by Robert McCormick Adams (1966:66-69), who argues that irrigation developed on a large scale in Mesopotamia only *after* the appearance of strongly centralized state systems. This criticism has in turn been challenged by William Sanders and Barbara Price (1968:177-88), who have argued for the importance of irrigation in both Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica. They point to the fact that in societies using irrigation there are frequent conflicts over water rights, such as between upstream and downstream communities. Such conflict stimulates a need for central authority to supervise the irrigation network, as Wittfogel suggested. There are thus both critics and defenders of the hydraulic theory. It would seem, at any rate, that irrigation was an important concomitant of most of the first Bronze Age civilizations and that most of these societies had strong political centralization.

The Circumscription Theory

Robert L. Carneiro (1970) has argued that a state system develops most readily in a geographically circumscribed area, hemmed in by desert or mountain walls. In a developing agricultural society, population expands. In more open, uncircumscribed settlements, groups can bud off and exploit more distant land resources, but this cannot be done in a circumscribed setting. What happens, then, is that conflict over the limited land resources takes place, and one group finally becomes dominant over the others. It is then able to exact tribute or taxes from the defeated groups, which cannot escape. Thus, class stratification and political centralization develop simultaneously.¹

Warfare, which seems to increase at the level of civilization, can also be seen as strengthening political centralization and state control.

Court Systems and Law

Court systems developed in advanced urban centers in both the Old World and the New. In Mexico, Aztec courts adjudicated market disputes. There were also local courts in each quarter of the city and one for each district outside the city, all in session daily. The ruler's palace was a court of appeals and for commoners a court of last resort. Noblemen could appeal to a supreme court consisting of a war leader and a council of thirteen elders. This system resembled that of modern states in several ways, but it lacked professional lawyers and trial by jury.

In Bronze Age Mesopotamia, when political centralization in city-states exerted control over progressively larger populations, the invention of writing made possible the first written codifications of laws, culminating in the Code of Hammurabi. Written laws increased the stability of the legal system and provided for a quick examination of precedents and previous rulings in any contingency. In later periods, after the diffusion of the alphabet, when a larger percentage of the population became literate, public tabulation of the laws had a democratizing influence. This happened in Greece in the seventh century B.C., when the open publicizing of the laws served as a check on the arbitrary authority of the ruling class.

A law differs from a custom in the quality of obligation. A person who deviates from custom may be considered eccentric, but one cannot punish him for an infraction. I may not approve of a young man who has long hair down to his shoulders and walks about barefoot, but he is not doing anything against the law. But if the young man rides his motorcycle beyond the prescribed speed limit or decides to undress in

¹ For some criticisms of the circumscription theory, see Dumond 1965.

front of a police officer, he is liable to arrest. These distinctions may seem arbitrary, since some societies allow what others do not, and a society may change its laws over a period of time. But laws are customs that persons *must* abide by. This means that laws must somehow be enforced; they are enforced by an agency that is recognized as having political authority within the society. Such an agency might be a chief, a military society, a tribunal, or a police officer.

Some anthropologists hold that law is universal, found in all societies, while others say that law is associated only with state societies. Law can be defined to suit either view.

Donald Black (1976:2-3) defines law as governmental social control and contrasts it with the kinds of social control that were discussed in the section on sanctions (page 256). Black (1976:6) has advanced this proposition: "Law varies inversely with other social control." This means that there is more law in societies where other forms of social control are relatively weak. Within a society, too, law fills a vacuum when other forms of social control are lacking. There is more juvenile law, for example, in societies where family discipline is weak.

Black (1976:4) also distinguishes four styles of law (*penal*, *compensatory*, *therapeutic*, and *conciliatory*), which have different ways of defusing deviant behavior. The penal style prohibits certain kinds of behavior and punishes infractions. The initiative in judging the innocence or guilt of the offender is made by the group. In the compensatory style, the initiative is taken by a victim who demands some restitution. In the therapeutic and conciliatory styles, punishment or payment is not the issue; instead, the issue is the mending or improvement of an unfortunate situation, and the deviant is seen as someone who needs help. In conciliation two parties meet to patch up a dispute and to restore a former balance, perhaps with the help of a mediator.

Black (1976:29) claims that these styles vary in different societies according to aspects of social organization and culture. There is more penal law in a "downward" direction in stratified societies but more compensatory and therapeutic law in an "upward" direction. Thus, a poor man who steals from the rich is found guilty and punished, but a rich man who expropriates property of the poor may be asked to make restitution or may be judged to be mentally ill; he is less likely to be punished than a poor man. Punishment is more severe in socially differentiated societies than in simpler ones with much face-to-face interaction, where there is more remedial law.

Ruling Elites

Estimates for the size of ruling groups in preindustrial agrarian societies have indicated that these consist of very small minorities. The governing class in the last days of the Roman republic is estimated to

have comprised about 1 percent of the capital's population. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Chinese gentry who made up the ruling class constituted about 1.3 percent of the population. A similar figure is given for Russia of the mid-nineteenth century (Lenski 1966:219). How could such a small ruling class dominate such a large population? One explanation is that a ruling elite is apt to be highly organized, while the majority is not. The elite in an agrarian society is usually supported by a somewhat larger retainer class consisting of army officials, soldiers, servants, and others close to the ruling elite. Another reason for the continuing authority of the small ruling group is that it has many sources of power and influence. As an example, let us consider the sources of wealth of the nineteenth-century Chinese gentry.

The Chinese gentry were not engaged solely in political activity. It is estimated that in nineteenth-century China only 1.6 percent of the gentry held office in the central government at any given time, while about two-thirds of the gentry derived some of their income from governmental positions that they held at the local level. Another large source of income was landownership. In the late nineteenth century, about one quarter of all the arable land in China was owned by the gentry. They also received some income from mercantile activity and moneylending (Lenski 1966:225-27; Fei 1953:98-99). The gentry thus occupied strategic positions both in government and in the economic system of the country.

The concentration of power and wealth in a small ruling class has been characteristic of many agrarian societies. In Mexico before the revolution, 1 percent of the population owned 97 percent of the land, while 96 percent of the people owned only 1 percent of the land (Stern and Kahl 1968:6).

Traditional Patterns of Authority

Ever since the period of the Bronze Age civilizations, Western people have been conscious of the status differences and privileges that go with authority and power. It is a familiar experience in the Western world that a person, A, who is in a recognized authority position, has the power to direct the actions of B, who is under the obligation to obey A's directions. A has higher prestige than B and may be more splendidly dressed with "robes of office" or military insignia. Interaction between A and B may be accompanied by symbolic acts of deference on B's part, for example saluting, bowing, standing at attention, and using such expressions as "Sir," "Your Honor," or "Your Highness." Failure to act in such expected ways may bring a reprimand or punishment, since A has access to more power than B. But this state of affairs need not be resented by B, who may be full of admiration for A and

consider it a privilege to serve him. The cognitive aspects of hierarchy may be deeply ingrained.

It is because such patterns of authority were so familiar to Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that many were surprised by their absence among some of the North American Indians they encountered. Concerning some Central Algonkian "savages," Nicolas Perrot, a fur trader, wrote: "Subordination is not a maxim among these savages; the savage does not know what it is to obey. . . . It is more necessary to entreat him than to command him. . . . The father does not venture to exercise authority over his son, nor does the chief dare give commands to his soldier" (Perrot 1911:145).

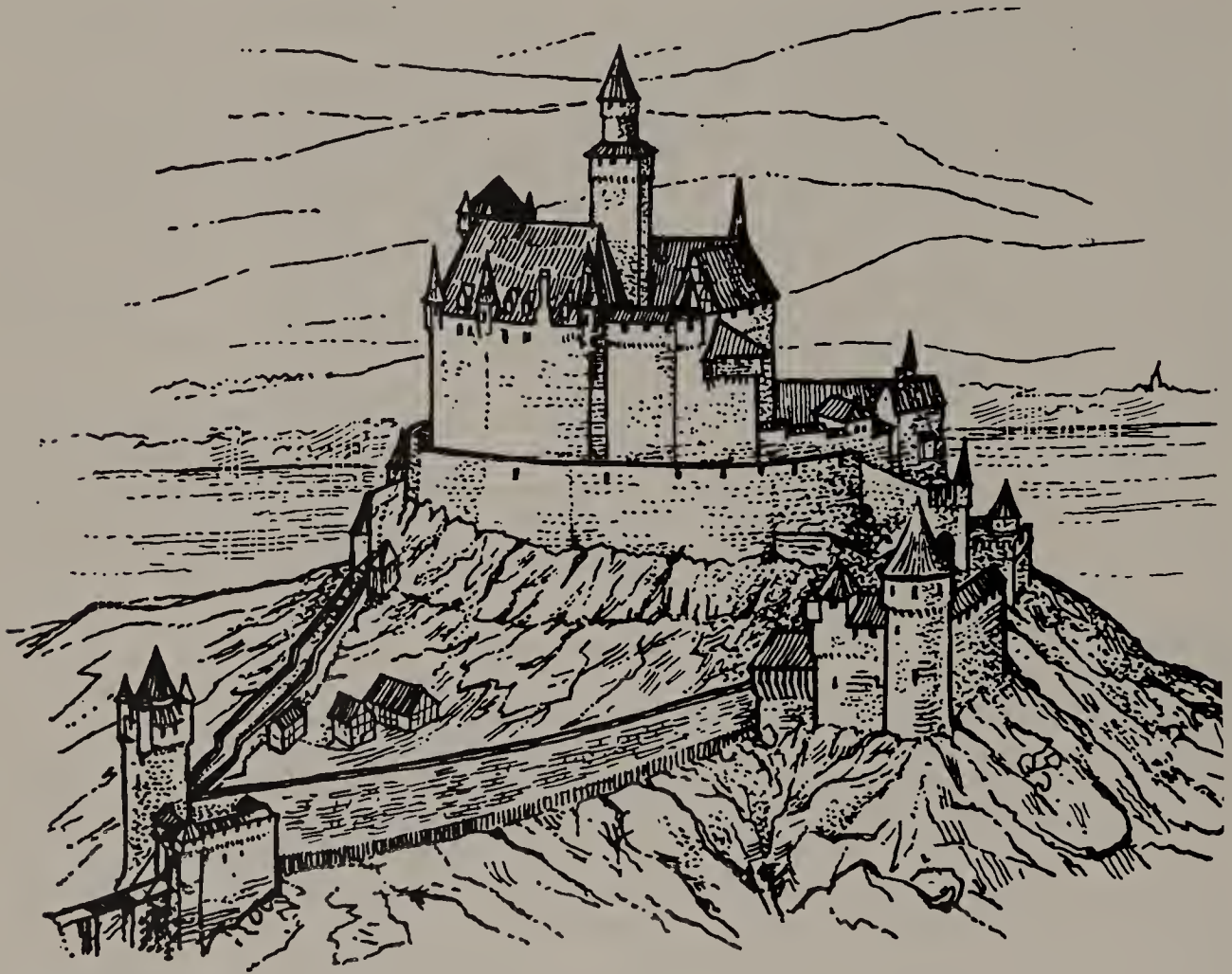
Walter B. Miller (1955:271-72), who quotes this passage, gives three similar quotations from Europeans about Central Algonkians. They all describe the absence of submissive behavior in much the same way, with an implicit bewilderment which reveals that European traditions and practices were quite different from the Central Algonkian ones.

Feudalism

Feudalism is one of those vague but useful terms that have been defined in various ways. Here we will follow the view of Rushton Coulborn (1965:4-8, 364), who sees feudalism not as an economic or social system but as primarily a method of government—a method of government in which the essential relationship is between lord and vassal and in which the agreements between leaders and followers usually emphasize military service. Feudal tendencies are apt to develop in prevailingly agricultural societies, not in societies with highly organized commerce. Coulborn also sees feudalism as a mode of revival of a society that has experienced disintegration.

We know that in western Europe feudalism developed after the collapse of the Roman Empire and the subsequent failure of Charlemagne's heirs to keep western Europe united in a new empire. Coulborn suggests that similar feudal revivals, building on a contracted local scale, may have taken place in other societies that formerly controlled wider areas but suffered dismemberment and collapse. Here we have another hypothesis about cross-cultural regularities.

The best parallel with western European feudalism is provided by Japan in the period between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. During this time effective government was on a local basis. Feudal lords (*daimyo*) commanded the services of armed knights (*samurai*) to defend and control a particular area. The imperial family and court nobility had little real political power, but, as in Europe, the concept of a larger centralized state was remembered from the past. In both areas



Marksburg Castle in the Rhine Valley, begun in the eleventh century. From Joan Evans (ed.), *The Flowering of the Middle Ages* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966)

an earlier, wider polity had become weakened, and local magnates—landlords, fighting men, clan or tribal chiefs—had assumed responsibility for local control and defense. Both Europe and Japan had their barbarians who influenced the character of the feudal period. In the case of Japan, the barbarians occupied the northeastern half of the central island of Honshu.

The true period of feudalism in Japan is said to date from the collapse of the Kamakura regime in A.D. 1333. The era of “high feudalism” runs from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century A.D., corresponding to the period in France from the later tenth century to the twelfth century. During the second half of the sixteenth century in Japan there was a rash of castle building. The Japanese castles were similar in many ways to the castles of Europe. They were defended by masonry-faced earthworks and surrounded by moats. Parallel to the medieval European code of chivalry, there were strong traditions of feudal loyalty and a code of honor among the samurai. Religion played



Nagoya Castle,
Japan, showing some
architectural parallels
with the castles of
Europe, despite the
Oriental roof style.
Sekai Bunka Photo

an important role in the feudal regimes of both Europe and Japan, and it is a curious parallel that a “universal” church with a monastic order was present in both. Buddhist monasteries owned much land and controlled large groups of warriors in Japan.²

The many parallels indicate that some cross-cultural regularities were at work in these two widely separated regions. Coulborn has suggested that a similar feudal development is exemplified in two other areas: Chou China to about 700 B.C. and Mesopotamia in the five hundred or six hundred years after Hammurabi, although not in so clear-cut and striking a fashion.

Not all disintegrating empires give birth to feudal regimes. In many cases, successful attempts are made to restructure the old political order. Feudalism cannot be seen as an inevitable stage of development in the evolution of human culture. It is one possibility that seems to have occurred in a number of different times and places.

² Some qualifications about the classification of feudalism in relation to Japan are given in John W. Hall (1968).

Industrial Societies

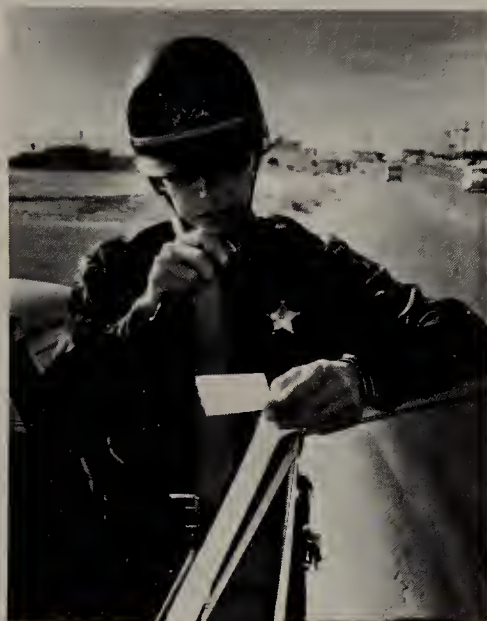
The great increase in business enterprise of the nineteenth century associated with the Industrial Revolution was followed by a corresponding expansion of the state in the twentieth century. In 1901 there were fewer than 240,000 employees of the U.S. federal government, but by 1975 there were 2,882,000, while the number of employees of state and local governments increased by 200 percent between 1940 and 1970. Much of the federal bureaucracy is concerned with military affairs, related to which is the space program. About half of the federal civilian employees are connected with defense. Much of the bureaucracy is also involved in the control and regulation of trade, transportation, and communication and in the fields of education, job training, and social security.

Consider our relationship to the state in connection with just one aspect of our culture, the automobile. The automobile has become so much a part of our lives that Americans can hardly imagine life without it. It has transformed the appearance of the country, which is now crisscrossed with highways that have gasoline stations and motels strung along them. These highways are built and kept in repair by the state or federal government, which establishes laws about speed limits.

In order to drive an automobile, one must pass a test, buy and renew a driver's license, and yearly license the car one has bought. One must drive on the prescribed side of the street, stop at red lights, and obey other traffic signals. If one drives through a red light, exceeds the speed limit, or otherwise breaks the law, one may be arrested by a police officer and be given a fine or a jail sentence, depending on the nature of the offense. The police officer is a recognized agent of government, identifiable by badge and uniform. Police have legitimate power, acknowledged by members of the society, whether they like it or not.

What applies to the automobile applies to many other aspects of our lives. If we transgress our nation's laws, a host of legal institutions may be brought into play: police officers, law courts, judges, prisons, and parole boards. Legal machinery is also resorted to in conflict resolution, in the adjustment of disputes, in arguments over property or contracts. The agencies that deal with these matters have to do with the nation's internal law, the regulation of its own affairs. But a modern state also deals with other nations and has institutions for dealing with them: ambassadors, consuls, state departments, agents of espionage, and the armed forces.

The expansion of the modern state in the past century came on the heels of the expansion of industry, and there has been some mutual influence in these two spheres of action. A large corporation like General Motors is itself a kind of political system, but it must work in



A police officer in our society has the legitimate authorized right to issue a ticket to a speeding motorist. © George W. Gardner, 1979/Stock, Boston

harmony with the larger political system of the United States, in accordance with the prevailing legal code. A corporation may also derive advantages from the state in the form of mineral depletion allowances, tax benefits, large defense contracts, tariff and quota considerations, and so forth.

Since a modern state is such a powerful institution, with nuclear bombs at its disposal in many cases, the state has often been regarded with fear and apprehension, as in George Orwell's novel *1984*.

There are potential dangers of dictatorship and authoritarianism in the state. At the same time, the incorporation of so many people within the ranks of modern government may have a democratizing tendency. We have seen that preindustrial agrarian societies were ruled by very small elites, which were often authoritarian. By comparison, many modern industrial nations are more democratic. All have elaborate codes of written laws that are meant to apply impartially to all citizens, although this often does not work out in practice. Modern industrial nations tend to have high rates of literacy and well-developed media of communication, which at least have the potentialities for making citizens well informed. Of course, the same instruments can also be used for propaganda. At the time of Hitler's rise to power, Germany was the best-educated nation in Europe. The Soviet Union emphasizes education but also maintains the harsh labor camps described by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in *The Gulag Archipelago*. Even so, there seem to be grounds for optimism in the presence of a high literacy rate and good educational facilities, features that were generally lacking in preindustrial agrarian societies.

Politics

This chapter has been about political organization rather than about politics. That is to say, it concerns institutions or systems for dealing with social control and conflict resolution, such as go-betweens and courts. Politics, on the other hand, deals with the analysis of competitive political processes rather than with structural analysis. Following Swartz, Turner, and Tuden (1966:4-7), we may say that politics concerns public goals desired by members of a group or faction relating to the allocation of power. These authors describe some political processes as follows: During a preliminary phase of organization, competing groups try to win support and allies through persuasion and influence, promising rewards for support and spreading adverse gossip about the opposing group or groups. Attempts may be made to win over or bribe members of an opposing group and to split it. This preliminary phase is succeeded by an open encounter or showdown that precipitates a crisis, which is signaled by the violation of a norm of usual ethical behavior. The crisis is apt to produce countervailing tendencies toward restoration of harmony. After resolution of the conflict, there must be some restoration of peace. Swartz, Turner, and Tuden refer to such sequences as "political phase developments." They have stimulated cross-cultural processual studies of politics along these lines (Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966:32-39). Detailed studies of factional struggles involve a multiplicity of factors and relationships. It may be necessary, for example, to sketch the personalities of particular leaders and their sources of influence. Such studies become, in effect, essays in history (for example, Turner 1957).

Warfare

A society must not only preserve order within its borders but must also regulate relations with other social groups, making treaties or agreements about boundaries and spheres of influence, acting as host to visiting strangers, carrying on trade, and so forth. Failure to regulate such matters adequately may result in warfare.

Warfare has been reported for societies at all levels of cultural evolution. Some tribes, such as the Jivaro of Ecuador, live in a state of endemic warfare. In some societies, for example the former Plains Indian tribes, warfare was a seasonal matter, taking place in summer. In some societies warfare has acquired ritualized aspects, with some of the qualities of a game.

Warfare may claim many lives in societies at all levels of technological development. Among the hunting-gathering Murngin of Australia, there was an estimate of two hundred deaths from fighting



Warfare scene, high-
lands of New Guinea.
*Film Study Center,
Harvard University*

in a population of seven hundred adult males. About 25 percent of adult males died in warfare among the Enga of New Guinea and about 24 percent among the Yanomamö of Venezuela, both horticultural societies. A similar percentage has been recorded for the Piegan of the northern Plains. For the more advanced civilization of the Valley of Mexico before the Spanish conquest, there were estimated to have been about fifteen thousand deaths a year due to warfare and human sacrifice.³

The scale of warfare, of course, increased in the course of cultural evolution as population density became greater, state control wider, and weapons more efficient.

In view of our long history as fighters, from Paleolithic times to the atomic age, some writers have concluded that humans have an aggressive instinct. Robert Ardrey (1966) believes that humans, like many other animals, have an inborn urge to defend the territory in

³ These figures are drawn from Livingstone (1968).

which they live. Konrad Lorenz (1967) gives many examples of territorial behavior, but most of these examples are about birds and fishes, animals not closely related to us. Lorenz does devote a whole chapter to rats, which inhibit fighting within the pack but viciously attack the members of other packs in humanlike fashion. But there are many mammals that do not defend territories, such as caribou, elephants, and sea otters. Many mammals lead busy, largely peaceful lives, with little show of aggression (Carrighar 1968:48).

Our closest relatives, the orangutan, gorilla, and chimpanzee, do not have territories. Clashes may take place with strangers, but these are usually in the form of threat displays rather than actual combat. Desmond Morris (1969) believes that the early hominids who adopted a carnivorous diet and a cooperative hunting way of life had to have a fixed base and hence acquired a common territory to defend. This would account for our differences from our ape relatives with regard to territoriality; it would also accord with Ardrey's picture of humans as aggressive carnivores. One would assume, if this analysis is right, that all hunting societies would engage in war, but this is not the case. Warfare is reported to be absent for the Semang of the Malay Peninsula, the Congo Pygmies, some Eskimo groups, the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego, and the western Shoshone. Modern states cannot count on the aggressive instincts of their citizens to fill up their armies but must resort to military conscription and enforce stiff penalties on draft dodgers and pacifists.

Human instinctual nature is probably not the best explanation for the human species' long record of warfare and aggression. Our actions are determined more by learned behavior, by culture, than by instincts or drives. And this is a source of hope, if not of actual optimism, for culture and cultural traditions can change. Since Lorenz puts the emphasis on instinct, he recommends ways of sublimating aggression in order to avoid war: more Olympic Games, competitive sports, and the competition of the space race. But it seems unlikely that such maneuvers could prevent war as long as there are powerful governments that see some advantage in it. Our problems lie not in the genes of the common man but in the ambitions of those with power.

Summary

A political unit must preserve internal order and also regulate external relations with other groups. Internal order is not solely due to the presence of laws and the fear of punishment. It is also supported by informal sanctions such as the opinions of neighbors and fears of sorcery, ghosts, gods, and punitive ancestors.

Hunting-gathering societies usually have little political organization. Chiefs or headmen may not be able to exercise much authority in such societies, especially in cases where groups easily break up. In some simple horticultural societies the authority of a headman is greater; he may be distinguished by special insignia and enjoy extra prerogatives, which may be due to his role in redistributing goods or to the presence of warfare.

Pastoral societies tend to be mobile and may have an atomistic social structure with little political centralization. On the other hand, cattle-raiding and warfare may encourage centralization and the formation of a ruling elite. In pastoral tribes with segmentary lineage systems there are often blood feuds between lineages and the consequent employment of go-betweens, like the Nuer leopard skin chief, to resolve such conflicts.

Advanced horticultural societies in Africa often had a high degree of political organization, with kings, royal lineages, and court systems. This is also true of agricultural societies. Court systems developed in advanced urban centers in both the Old World and the New World.

Industrial societies are marked by an expansion of the state and a great increase in political bureaucracy. This has unfortunately been accompanied by a parallel increase in the scale of warfare.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The present chapter was influenced by Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966). See also Elman R. Service, *Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975); and Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skolnik, eds., *The Early State* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978).

A well-written general essay on the development of political organization in human societies is Morton H. Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology* (New York: Random House, 1967). Another thoughtful work on the subject is Georges Balandier, *Political Anthropology*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

For the hunting-gathering stage, see Richard B. Lee and Irven De Vore, eds., *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1968).

For horticulture, see Marshall D. Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968). For the African scene, see Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, eds., *African Political Systems* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); and Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964).

The best work on the cross-cultural study of law is E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954). See also Laura Nader, ed., "The Ethnography of Law," Special Publication, *American Anthropologist* 67, pt. 2

(1965); Paul Bohannan, ed., *Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict* (Garden City, N. Y.: Natural History Press, 1967); and Laura Nader, ed., *Law in Culture and Society* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969).

The processual approach to the study of politics is exemplified in two readers: Marc J. Swartz, Victor W. Turner, and Arthur Tuden, eds., *Political Anthropology* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1966); and Marc J. Swartz, ed., *Local Level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1968).

Anthropologists have not paid much attention to the cross-cultural study of warfare, but a special symposium has been devoted to the subject: Morton Fried, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy, eds., *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression* (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1968).



Windows on Three Cultures IV

The Inuit

The Inuit had an atomistic social order in which there was little political organization or formal legal machinery. Chieftainship was weakly developed. Nonlegal sanctions such as the fear of sorcery that inhibited aggression among the Ojibwa and the Paiute had little effect among the Inuit, for some bands had high rates of homicide. Knud Rasmussen reported on one Eskimo band in which all the adult males of its fifteen families had been involved in a homicide, either as principals or accessories; usually, this was due to quarrels over women. Female infanticide was common among some groups of Inuit, but this was not considered a crime by them. Rasmussen knew one woman who had given birth to fifteen girls and five boys in the course of her life. She killed ten of the girls.

Such a practice leads to a greater number of males than females among the young, but in adult life the sex ratio shows a preponderance of women, since the men are more exposed to hardship and dangers in the hunting quest (Weyer 1932:133-37). There seems to have been a high rate of female infanticide among the Netsilik Eskimos (Rasmussen 1931:141), but Jean L. Briggs (1974:267) claims that it was not a regular practice in most other areas.

It was not considered a crime to kill old people who were unable to keep up with the rest of the band when it moved from place to place. Some old persons asked their relatives to help them commit suicide.

If an able-bodied person is killed, his relatives must avenge the murder. This is the main sanction against killing; a murderer can expect that sooner or later he will be killed in turn. Sometimes revenge is taken by a nonrelative. "If a man has committed a murder or made himself odious by other outrages he may be killed by anyone simply as a matter of justice. The man who intends to take revenge on him must ask his countrymen singly if each agrees in the opinion that the offender is a bad man deserving death. If all answer in the affirmative, he may kill the man thus condemned and no one is allowed to revenge the murder" (Boas 1888:582; for a specific case, see Boas 1888:668).

For the Netsilik, however, Balicki (1970:181) writes: "Strangely enough, in all the historical cases recorded not a single instance of successful physical revenge occurs. . . . There are, however, numerous cases of revenge by supernatural means." Murderers often fled to a special camp area, where they stayed for a few years. Balicki argues that it was against the community's interest to have its able-bodied seal hunters killed off in blood feuds.

There is much sharing of property among the Inuit, and sometimes the taking of others' goods is condoned or overlooked. "If a man was hungry, and happened upon another man's fox trap, it was perfectly legal to take the fox and eat it. But courtesy commanded that the skin be brought to the owner. It could happen that this was impossible if the fox was dead and frozen stiff so that it couldn't be skinned. But then, at least, it was an obligation to set the trap again so that another fox might get caught in it" (Freuchen 1961:178). But persistent poaching on the property of others would bring retaliation sooner or later.

Serious quarrels between men are sometimes settled by contests involving buffeting, wrestling, boxing, butting, or singing. "In buffeting, the opponents face each other, alternately delivering straight-armed blows on the side of the head until one is felled and thereby vanquished" (Hoebel 1954:92). According to Hoebel, boxing and butting are means of settling all issues except homicide. These occasions are publicly announced and take place on festive occasions.

In a singing contest, two enemies face each other in a circle of onlookers and alternately sing songs of derision in which each insults the other with such charges as stinginess, incest, cannibalism, or murder. Public opinion has a chance to express itself in the responses of the surrounding crowd, whose applause or jeers help to elect the winner. At the end of the song duel the enemies are supposed to put aside their quarrel and resume normal relations.

Some Inuit bands had generally peaceful relations with their neighbors, while others engaged in a good deal of fighting. Weyer states that

the Netsilingmiut waged continual warfare with other Eskimo groups. However, organized fighting never developed in the central area as it did among the Alaskan Eskimos of the Bering Strait (Weyer 1932:161-62).

The Hopi of Arizona

There is no overall political organization uniting the different Hopi pueblos. Each community is politically independent and runs its own affairs. The leadership within a pueblo is concerned more with religious than with secular issues, although it is difficult to separate these spheres of Hopi life. The village chief, usually the head of the Bear clan, is theoretically the owner of all village land, which is divided among the people. Regarded as his "children," the villagers address the Bear clan chief as "father." Disputes about land and property are decided by him. The village chief also presides over a council of clan chiefs, who accede to office through hereditary family connections. They are, at the same time, heads of religious fraternities. The council members make plans for the ceremonial activities of the coming year, discussing problematic issues until a unanimous decision is reached. Decisions of the council are announced by a public crier. "There are no courts, no policemen, and no fines except those imposed by agents of the United States government. Theft in former days was very rare indeed; and murder by violence is practically unknown. . . . The decisions of the council and Village Chief are regarded as final by everyone; indeed, individuals say they would have to leave the village if the chief ordered them to do so" (Simmons 1942:15).

Informal, nonlegal sanctions, particularly gossip, play a pervasive role in controlling Hopi behavior. Hopi gossip includes charges of witchcraft, which result in the rumor that particular persons belong to the secret league of the Two-Hearts, whose members seek to prolong their own lives by killing others. In his autobiography Don Talayesva records that he was suspected of being a witch by his in-laws, since many of his own children had died. When he learned about this gossip, Don angrily confronted his mother-in-law and denied the charge (Simmons 1942:289). Don's narrative shows the force of rumor and suspicion in a small community.

The positive religious sanctions in favor of keeping a "good heart" and being a cooperative member of the community, combined with the negative sanctions of fear of sorcery and public opinion, have helped to keep Hopi villages free of bloodshed, although they are not free of tension. (On the factional split at Oraibi between the "Hostiles" and "Friendlies" and its nonviolent resolution through a tug-of-war, see page 407). The word *Hopi* has the connotation of "peaceful," a quality

that is constantly upheld in speeches and exhortations. The Hopi did not engage in much aggressive warfare in the past, but Hopi youths had to be ready to defend the pueblo against invasions from other tribes. Moreover, there was also some fighting between Hopi pueblos in disputes over land and water resources (Thompson and Joseph 1944:48). One of the leading chiefs in a Hopi pueblo is the war chief, who sometimes assists the village chief in deciding disputes. This office remains as a heritage of the days when village defense was a vital issue.

Contemporary Japan

On page 270 it was mentioned that Japan had a period of high feudalism from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, during which time local feudal lords (*daimyo*) commanded the services of *samurai* in ways reminiscent of the ties between lords and vassals in medieval Europe. During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) there was a centralized feudal system, when the Tokugawa clan, with headquarters at Edo (later named Tokyo), had control of the land, mines, and cities in the strategic central part of Japan. There were still many peripheral areas ruled by different *daimyo*, but they were all subordinate to the Tokugawa ruler. Each *daimyo* had to send his wife and heirs to Edo as hostages and had to spend alternate years at Edo. There was still an emperor of Japan, whose court and palace were located at Kyoto, but he had no real political authority. Power was concentrated in the hands of the Tokugawa *shogun*, who was theoretically acting on behalf of the emperor.

The Tokugawa regime sought to isolate Japan as much as possible from the outside world. In the sixteenth century Portuguese ships landed in Japan and Jesuit missionaries made many converts. But missionaries were officially banned in 1587, and Christians were subsequently persecuted. There were severe restrictions on foreign trade. In 1616 European ships were limited to two ports. The Portuguese were expelled in 1639, leaving only the Dutch, who were confined to an island in the harbor of Nagasaki.

The isolation of Japan was ended in 1853 by the coming of an American naval fleet under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry, who brought a letter from the president of the United States asking that Japan open its ports to trade and exchange diplomatic missions with the United States. Under this show of force the shogun signed treaties that admitted the foreigners. These concessions brought about an angry nationalistic movement led by some of the southwestern *daimyo*, who succeeded in overthrowing the Tokugawa

shogun in 1868. This was the *Meiji Restoration*, so called because it restored to power the emperor, who moved his court to Edo, which was now named Tokyo, or eastern capital.

The rulers of the new government realized that the Americans and Europeans were far ahead of Japan in armaments and technology. They decided that to maintain national independence it was necessary to develop new sociopolitical systems appropriate to a modern industrial state. Young Japanese were sent to Europe and the United States to find out how such matters were handled in other countries.

The former Tokugawa government had a corps of bureaucrats who provided personnel for the new agencies of government, and there were also officials from the domains of the former feudal lords. An efficient governmental structure therefore quickly developed. The new legal systems that appeared showed foreign influence. "Initially influenced by French law, and to a much lesser extent by Anglo-American common law, the Japanese eventually adopted a civil law system which retained some French features but was largely patterned after that of Bismarck's Germany, one of the most fundamental structural principles of which was a division between public and private law" (Burks 1974:580). The German army became a model for the Japanese army, while the Japanese navy was influenced by the British model.

By the 1870s Japan felt strong enough to move aggressively into Korea, and treaties were drawn up with Korea in which the Japanese were given rights of extraterritoriality. Japanese currency could now enter Korea, and articles imported from or exported to Japan were made duty free for several years. Expansion in Korea and Manchuria brought the Japanese into conflict with the Russians, ultimately leading to the war of 1904-5, with its crushing naval defeat of the Russians. Encouraged by this success, the Japanese armed forces became involved in further expansion in Manchuria and China, which eventually led to Japan's engagement in World War II.

Since the end of the Tokugawa period Japan has had two constitutions. The first, the Meiji Constitution of 1889, remained in force until the end of World War II. It showed the influence of foreign models. Under this constitution there was a centralized government in which all officials were regarded as agents of the emperor. There was a bicameral Diet with a House of Peers, the upper house, and a House of Representatives, the lower house, whose members were popularly elected. The prime minister was appointed by the emperor on the advice of elder statesmen. Twelve ministers served as heads of departments. The emperor could declare war and make peace and could convoke or close the Diet.

Japan's second constitution was drawn up in 1946 by the occupation forces, mainly American, after Japan's disastrous defeat in World War

II. It was accepted by the cabinet, adopted by the Diet, and promulgated by the emperor. The new constitution, submitted as an amendment to the Meiji Constitution, went into effect in 1947. It deprives the emperor of all political power, but he retains significance as a symbol of national unity. Both houses of the Diet now require popular elections. The lower house, the House of Representatives, originates the budget and has more legislative authority than the upper house, termed the House of Councillors. There is an independent judiciary, as in the United States; the Supreme Court has the power of judicial review. The prime minister is now elected by the House of Representatives. In this respect, the American model of presidential elections by the popular electorate was not followed. The prime minister selects the members of his cabinet. Provisions are set forth to encourage decentralization, local autonomy, the rights of citizens, and equality of the sexes. A husband and wife, for example, have equal rights. All adult persons are equal before the law.

An unusual feature of the Constitution of 1947 is Article 9 of Chapter II, which renounces war as a sovereign right. There is no defense ministry. There is, however, a defense agency without cabinet status.

Japan has universal adult suffrage. Voting is not new, but during the Meiji period there were restrictions on suffrage. In 1890 only males over twenty-five years and paying fifteen yen or more in taxes could vote in Diet elections. The ballot was made secret in 1900; tax qualifications were then reduced, but they were eliminated altogether in 1925. Today, all men and women over twenty can vote. There are elections on the national scale for the Diet and also local elections. In the various prefectures of Japan the voters choose a governor and an assembly, and in each city, town, and village there are elections for a mayor and an assembly. Political parties have existed in Japan since the 1870s. Although some of the present parties are relatively new, their roots go back to earlier organizations.

The leading political party is the Liberal Democratic party, founded in 1955. It is generally conservative, although it has no clear ideology, and it has the support of a bare majority of the voters. The other main parties are the Socialist party, founded in 1945; the Democratic Socialists, founded in 1960; the Communist party; and the Komeito. The last named is the political wing of a recently developed Buddhist sect, Soka Gakkai, which will be discussed in the Windows on Three Cultures V section.

The turnout of voters in Japanese elections, particularly local ones, is high and compares favorably with American electoral participation. Voting is proportionately more active in rural areas than in cities; farmers tend to back the Liberal Democratic party, which has traditionally favored them with agricultural price supports.

The experience of war and defeat in World War II left many Japanese with antimilitaristic feelings, and so attempts to increase the armed forces have been strongly resisted. Japan's defense budget is less than 1 percent of its gross national product, as compared to around 7 percent for the United States and perhaps more than 10 percent for the USSR. "On the other hand, the present huge size of the Japanese economy means that the military budget is in reality one of the larger ones in the world—actually the seventh largest. . . . Its air force, in fact, is one of the best in Asia" (Reischauer 1977:346). It is evident that both Japan's industrial economy and its political system have developed with great rapidity during the past hundred years.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best account of Eskimo "legal" systems is in E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954).

There is a brief discussion of Hopi political organization in Fred Eggan, *The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950). See also Esther Goldfrank, "Socialization, Personality, and the Structure of Pueblo Society (With Particular Reference to Hopi and Zuni)," *American Anthropologist* 47 (1945): 516-39, on the relationship between the sociopolitical system and the socialization process.

The development of modern political systems in Japan is dealt with in G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan: A Study in the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). For a two-volume reader that contains a good deal of information about political organization, see Jon Livingston, Joe Moore, and Felicia Oldfather, eds., *The Japan Reader*, vol. 1: *Imperial Japan: 1800-1945*; and vol. 2: *Postwar Japan: 1945 to the Present* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

Part Six

Religion





Religious Ideology and Ritual

In George P. Murdock's list of universal aspects of culture that have been reported for all societies for which we have ethnographic descriptions, there are several items that concern religion. According to Murdock (1945:124), all societies have religious rituals and the custom of propitiating supernatural beings. All known cultures contain beliefs of some sort about the soul and life after death. Funeral rites and mourning customs are universal. Divination is practiced in all cultures, according to Murdock, and belief in magic is also found everywhere.

These universals apply to cultures rather than to individuals. There are, of course, many persons in the United States, Europe, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere who do not believe in spirits, gods, or life after death; but these ideas are part of the cultural tradition and are accepted by great numbers of people, even in the Soviet Union, where the favored official view on religion is atheistic. Culture patterns that are so widespread, found in all parts of the world and among societies at different levels of technology, must be very old.

Nineteenth-century writers who wrote about "primitive religion" hoped to figure out how religious beliefs originated in the first place and what were the characteristics of the primordial religion. This was part of the general nineteenth-century interest in origins and evolution, an interest that was also applied to the origin of the family, the state, and other institutions. The problem as these writers saw it was to find out how the institution got started and then to trace it through

different stages of cultural evolution to the present. These nineteenth-century writers tended to be rationalists, with an optimistic faith in reason, science, and the future of mankind. They often regarded religion as the product of erroneous reasoning. In some cases, there was an implication that, as society advanced and people learned to reason more effectively, religious faiths would be supplanted by a more rational outlook.

The chief representative of nineteenth-century rationalism in this field was Edward B. Tylor. About half of his two-volume work *Primitive Culture* (1877) is devoted to religion. Later writers who concerned themselves with religion generally felt obliged to either agree or disagree with Tylor's views. It is convenient, therefore, to start our discussion of religion with an examination of his theories.

Animism

Tylor wanted to find a "minimum definition" of religion that would apply to all religions in different parts of the world and different stages of development. He ruled out certain features that are not universal, such as the belief in a supreme being, the notion of reward and punishment after death, the worship of idols, and the practice of sacrifice. These are found in many societies but not in all, Tylor observed. What he chose as his minimum definition was "the belief in spiritual beings," to which he gave the name *animism*. It encompasses belief in souls, ghosts, gods, demons, and other supernaturals. For Tylor, animism was the core of religion from which all of its other aspects sprang. Once this idea was implanted in people's minds, various other beliefs and practices followed as a rather logical consequence.

But how did the belief in spirits arise in the first place? Theologians would answer that it stemmed from revelation, a view Tylor rejected. His own way of accounting for the origin of animism was in the experiences, shared by humans everywhere, of having dreams and reflecting about such phenomena as trance states, disease, and death. When a person wakes up, he remembers that he has had various experiences during the night, traveling about and having conversations with others. Yet his companions will assure him that he has been asleep all night and has not moved. Reflecting about this paradox, humans would reach the dualistic conclusion that there is a soul that inhabits the body and animates it but is able to leave the body at night and communicate with other souls. When the soul returns to the body, the person wakes up again and is reanimated. But when the person dies, it is because the soul has left the body for good. Tylor argued that these beliefs need not have been derived from revelation but were more

likely to have arisen from the natural process of reasoning about universal experiences.

There are further natural consequences that follow upon a belief in spiritual beings. One conclusion would be that once the soul has left the body, it may continue an existence after death or be reborn in another bodily form. It was only natural to assume that other animals and plants also had souls. A cult of ancestor worship was still another likely consequence; this is not universal, but such cults could easily arise on the basis of animistic assumptions.

The belief in *possession* is another possible consequence that is not universal, being not much developed among American Indian tribes although widespread in the Old World. This is the idea that a disembodied entity, spirit or soul, can take possession of a living body, temporarily dislodging its rightful occupant. In societies that have such beliefs, where people become "possessed," it is understandable that rites of *exorcism* have often developed to drive out invading spirits. But often, as among spiritualist mediums and Siberian shamans, possession is voluntary, sought after. In other cases, as in devil possession in medieval Europe, it is considered evil, involuntary, requiring exorcism.

If a spirit can invade a living organism, then perhaps it can also take up lodgment in an object such as a piece of wood. This idea Tylor termed *fetishism* (not to be confused with sexual fetishism), the fetish being an object that is worshiped because it is conceived to be inhabited by or associated with a spirit.

Nature worship may also stem from animistic beliefs. Trees, rivers, animals, and plants may all be seen as having souls and thus may be worshiped. From this pattern arose the polytheistic pantheons of civilized and near-civilized peoples, in which different gods were believed to control different aspects of nature: the rain, thunder, earth, sea, sun, and moon.

Tylor saw *monotheism* as being a late development in the evolution of religion, which could arise in various ways. One god might be elevated to dominance over the others. In a society having a king and an aristocracy, it might be assumed that the supernatural realm had the same political organization as the known earthly world. A supreme deity, supported by an aristocracy of lesser gods, might then be assumed to rule the universe.

Tylor's work had great influence; it is still considered a classic in anthropology, but in time his views about religion attracted criticism from various angles. Tylor's explanation of the origin of animistic beliefs has the weakness that it cannot be proven. Other, perhaps equally plausible, explanations for the origin of religion were offered by some of his contemporaries. How can one choose among these

alternatives? It becomes a matter of personal taste. This is part of the reason why later anthropological works on religion turned from speculation about origins to a study of the functions of religions in living cultures.

One criticism of Tylor's theories about the origin and development of animism was that they overemphasized the role of reason and the conceptual side of religion. R. R. Marett (1914:xxxix) argued that "savage religion is something not so much thought out as danced out." It involves awe and other emotions as well as thought.

Animatism

Marett pointed to a widespread religious concept that could not logically be derived from belief in spirits and might be just as old as, or older than, animism. This is belief in an impersonal supernatural power.

Mana is a word used in both Melanesia and Polynesia for impersonal supernatural power. Marett gave the term *animatism* to belief in such a power, which is conceived to pervade the universe but is stored up more in some objects or persons than in others. Chiefs, priests, men of high status have more mana than ordinary folk. An odd-shaped stone may be thought to have mana. If a man plants such a stone in his garden and if the yield of yams subsequently increases, he may become convinced that there is mana in it. Such ways of thinking are not foreign to the conceptions of the Western world. We regard the altar of a church as being somehow qualitatively different from a lamppost on the corner; it is more sacred, just as holy water is thought to be different from ordinary water.

Like electricity, mana may be dangerous as well as beneficial. An object handled by a Polynesian chief may be considered perilous for a commoner to touch. Hence, the concept of *taboo* in Polynesia was closely associated with that of mana. The word *taboo* has implications of sacredness as well as of the forbidden. Idols, temples, members of the ruling family, priests, canoes of the gods, and many other objects were taboo to commoners, a practice that served to widen social distance between the ruling family and the common people.

As Ruth Benedict (1938a) pointed out, conceptions about the supernatural may be based on two kinds of contrasting assumptions. On the one hand, one may conceive of supernatural things as having the attributes of objects, such as color and weight. On the other hand, one may attribute personality to all segments of the universe, to stars, plants, animals, storms, and other aspects of nature. To attribute mana to a stone, seeing it as being full of power, would be the first alternative, that of animatism. To assume that a spirit lives within the



Hindu ritual. Note the "sacred threads," which show that the wearer belongs to the higher "twice-born" castes. Baldev, *The New York Times*

stone would be the second alternative, that of animism. Benedict made a distinction between an *amulet*, an object that is believed to automatically radiate supernatural power or good luck but is not personified, and a *fetish*, an object that is worshiped because of its indwelling spirit. Both objects are regarded as sacred, but for different reasons. In Africa the fetish is talked to, cajoled or pleaded with, and otherwise addressed as a person. This is not done with an amulet. If the emphasis in a religious system is on animatism, men try to tap, build up, and increase supernatural power. If the emphasis is on animism, men try to establish contact with the gods and offer petitions and sacrifice. The former system tends more in the direction of manipulation and magic; it operates with cause and effect sequences, and in that respect it is similar to science. The second system tends more in the direction of personal religion involving interpersonal relationships with gods and spirits. In practice, however, most religious systems represent a complex mixture of animism and animatism, religion and magic.

Magic

There have been different ways of distinguishing between magic and religion. One has just been referred to; Ruth Benedict, following James G. Frazer, saw magic as being manipulative, while religion is sup-

plicative. Frazer regarded magic as "primitive man's science," although it is based on two erroneous principles, which Frazer termed the "Law of Similarity" and the "Law of Contact." The former is the belief that like produces like, while the latter is the notion that things that have once been in contact continue to act on each other at a distance. According to the first principle, the magician imitates the effects he desires. For example, he jabs pins into a doll and thus wounds his enemy. According to the second principle, the magician assumes that what he does to a material object will affect the person with whom it was once associated. Thus, sorcery can be worked against a person if one has acquired some of his fingernail parings, feces, teeth, or clothing (Frazer 1943:11-45). In either case, the effect is conceived to be brought about more or less automatically through the will and ritual actions of the magician; he does not appeal to a higher authority for help.

Émile Durkheim, who emphasized the social, collective nature of religion in his book *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915), claimed that magic is mainly an individual affair in which no lasting social bonds are established, while religion is a collective enterprise that involves a church or community of fellow believers.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1954:17-90) made a series of distinctions between magic and religion: magic is a means to an end, while religion is an end in itself; belief in magic is simple and its aim is straightforward and definite, while religious belief is more complex, involving pantheons of supernatural beings. Malinowski argued that humans resort to magic when faced with the possibility of failure. The hunter cannot find game, the lover cannot win over his beloved. Despite one's best efforts, one cannot attain the valued goal through normal, rational means. A natural recourse in such blocked circumstances, according to Malinowski, is resort to magic. Moreover, this has an effect, for it gives the magician confidence. Feeling that something has been done to bring him closer to his goal, he perseveres with renewed effort. Religion also gives humans the confidence to carry on, but on a more long-range basis, establishing positive attitudes and values.

Although much of this seems convincing, Francis L. K. Hsu (1952) has subjected Malinowski's contrast between magic and religion to severe criticism and has shown that in practice, when dealing with a particular religious system, it is very difficult to separate magic and religion from each other or even sometimes to say which is which. Perhaps it is useful for analytic purposes to distinguish between magic and religion, as Frazer, Durkheim, and Malinowski have done in their different ways, but magicians may make use of religious practices and appeal to spirits for help, while religious bodies may make use of magical techniques, as in sprinkling holy water, and may pursue immediate practical ends, as in a prayer meeting for rain. Magic is not

always individual, nor is religion always collective; the young Ojibwa Indian, fasting alone in the woods, is engaged in a religious quest.

Altered States of Consciousness

In visions, dreams, states of trance, and "possession," human beings receive convincing support for the existence of the gods and spirits in which they believe.

Visions may sometimes be induced by lack of food. Early humans must often have gone hungry and then experienced unusual psychological states. Young men among the Ojibwa and other American Indian tribes deliberately fasted in order to have visions of their guardian spirits. We may assume that hunting-gathering people who ate a wide variety of vegetable foods must occasionally have swallowed hallucinogenic plants. After the discovery of their properties, these were often eaten deliberately for their effects. This is the case, at any rate, among some Siberian tribes of the Kamchatka Peninsula, some Mount Hagen natives of northeastern New Guinea, and some of the peoples of Mexico. In each of these areas, hallucinogenic mushrooms are eaten for their visionary effects. It is very likely that the intoxicating *soma* juice often referred to in the Vedas of the ancient Aryans was derived from hallucinogenic mushrooms. In northern Mexico and the southwestern United States, the peyote "button" was consumed for the same purpose. In South America, *datura* was used; in wide areas of the Old World, opium, *bhang*, or hashish has been smoked, with similar effects. In recent years in the United States, there has been a vogue for experimenting with LSD and other "mind-altering" drugs. Besides fasting and drugs, other methods are used in various parts of the world to induce states of dissociation, including the repetition of rhythmic motor activities, drumming, singing, or dancing to the point of exhaustion.

The purposes of seeking visionary experiences are many, but one of them is to learn about matters not accessible to the normal conscious mind. A shaman goes into trance to find where game is located or to find the whereabouts of a missing person. Whether or not this can be done, the belief in such faculties is widespread. The pattern of crystal gazing or of staring at a flame or into water or some other liquid to gain information about unknown matters is almost universal. It has been reported among Canadian Indians, Iroquois, Apaches, Polyne-sians, Maoris, the Malagasy of Madagascar, the Zulus, and the Inca of Peru, as well as among the peoples of modern Europe (Lang 1909:83-87).

The term *altered states of consciousness* has been used for unusual psychological states such as those induced by drugs or fasting, during

which the subject is very suggestible. Certain kinds of visual imagery often occur in these states. According to Siegel and Jarvik (1975), a common early reaction for persons who have taken hallucinogenic drugs is to see a bright light in the center of a visual field. Pulsations may seem to move toward or away from this light, resulting in the impression of a spiral or tunnel. Some subjects report that they are moving through a tube. These early images may be replaced by geometric forms and later by more complex shapes, including those of human beings. Huichol Indians in Mexico who were questioned about their peyote visions reported seeing "geometric patterns, spirals, lines, tunnels, and lattices" (Siegel and Jarvik 1975:138). The Tukano Indians of Colombia are said to decorate their homes and pottery with the geometric motifs that they have seen in the early stages of their visions (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971). After consuming hallucinogenic mushrooms in Mexico, R. Gordon Wasson (1957) saw geometric patterns at first; these were succeeded by elaborate architectural structures in brilliant colors.

According to Michael Harner (1973), the concept of a "trip" is common among South American Indians who have taken hallucinogenic *yagé*, involving sensations of flying, scenes of distant cities, and visions of snakes, jaguars, and demons or deities. Human-animal metamorphoses have been reported by American subjects (Masters and Houston 1966:76-78, 293). Masters and Houston (1966:224ff.) also state that mythic themes are often experienced by American subjects, including myths of creation and of polarity (light and darkness, order and chaos). In this connection, it is interesting that the Tukano Indians of Colombia take hallucinogenic drugs during an initiation ceremony for the purpose of seeing the enactment of tribal creation myths. Here the suggestible state of the neophyte is influenced both by what he expects to see during the trance state and by the supervision of a shaman who helps to structure his experience (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:174). Similarly, culturally patterned expectations influence the trance experiences of members of a minority sect among the Fang of Zaire, in northwestern equatorial Africa, who take a hallucinogenic drug during initiation ceremonies, when they go to meet their ancestors, who then take them to their gods (Dobkin de Rios 1984:166-68).

A kind of altered state of consciousness different from those just discussed is *possession trance*, in which the subject's body is believed to be invaded by a spirit that takes charge of it for the time being. This invasion may be conceived to be either voluntary (as with spirit mediums) or involuntary, in which case rites of exorcism may be used to drive out the intruding spirit. Women are more given to possession trance than men (Bourguignon 1979:254, 258). In parts of Africa and

the Caribbean there are cult groups whose members are former victims of possession. I. M. Lewis (1971:31) sees possession and possession cults as "thinly disguised protest movements directed against the dominant sex," for they usually occur in male-dominated societies. Among the Somali of northeastern Africa, where Lewis carried out fieldwork, women become possessed by spirits that are cross-examined to find out their identity. The invading spirits may demand fine clothes and other luxuries before leaving the woman's body, which—for the time being—gives the woman some compensations for her depressed condition. Joining a possession cult also provides solidarity and an enhanced new status (Crapanzano 1973:158-63).

Shamanism

The *shaman*, or medicine man, is mankind's first specialist, although not on a full-time basis. In a hunting band he is a hunter like anyone else. In most hunting-gathering societies and among many simple horticulturists, there are religious practitioners of this sort. They are also to be found in advanced civilizations, but then they coexist with another type of religious specialist, the priest, who will be discussed later. The shaman is an intermediary between the members of his society and the supernatural world, with which he communicates either by talking to the spirits and listening to their replies or undergoing possession. Edwin M. Loeb (1929) has made a distinction, on this basis, between the *seer* and the shaman. The seer has visions of spirits, who talk to him, but the true shaman is possessed; the spirits speak *through* him. Loeb believes that the seer is the older type of religious specialist, being found among American Indian tribes and among the more primitive and isolated peoples of the Old World, such as the Australian aborigines and the Andaman Islanders. Possession shamanism is widespread in the Old World. Another writer, Mircea Eliade (1950:299), makes a distinction between shaman and medicine man, restricting the term *shaman* to those who make "an ecstatic trip to Heaven, to the Lower World, or to the depths of the ocean." Most anthropologists, however, use the terms *shaman* and *medicine man* interchangeably; there seems to be no harm in doing so.

Medicine men fill various functions; they "communicate" with spirits and learn about hidden matters, and they are sometimes believed to influence the weather and to make the rain fall or stop. As the term implies, a medicine man is also concerned with curing. Various medical techniques are used by shamans in different societies, including the administration of herbs, roots, brews, poultices, salves, ointments, enemas, massage, and sweat baths. Many of these are valid curative



A Chippewa sucking
doctor at work.
*Milwaukee Public
Museum*

practices, but even when that is not the case, the curing process itself provides reassurance to the patient and often helps him get well, especially if the ailment is of psychosomatic origin. The cure may be helped along by drum-beating, singing, dancing, and impressive, dramatic behavior on the part of the medicine man, which assures the patient that he is in good hands.

The Sucking Cure

A widespread, probably ancient, technique is the sucking cure, in which the shaman goes through the motions of sucking a disease from the patient's body. Usually he "extracts" something, which he shows to the patient and other persons present as proof that the sickness has been removed. This, again, must have a reassuring, sometimes therapeutic, effect upon the patient. Of course, it does not always work, just as modern medical practices sometimes do not work. But even if the patient dies, that does not necessarily lead to a loss of faith in this curing method, for the shaman may have a ready explanation, such as, for example, that a powerful sorcerer was responsible for the death and that he was summoned too late to prevent it. Some variant of the sucking cure is found among the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador, the Ojibwa of the Great Lakes region in North America, the Cochiti Indians of New Mexico, the Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest Coast, the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos, and the Arunta of Australia.

The objects extracted from the patient's body may be stones, pieces of wood, and other objects that the shaman has probably kept in his mouth, although it is sometimes difficult to see how he has managed to



A Mangyan healer in the Philippines employing a sucking technique with a young patient.
Edward S. Ross

do that. Harry B. Wright (1957:14-15), a dentist and explorer from Philadelphia, recorded that a Jivaro medicine man spat out the following objects in succession during the course of a cure: a splinter of wood, a mouthful of ants, a grasshopper, and a lizard. (Both the grasshopper and the lizard were dead.) This cure, incidentally, was for a toothache and was a complete success.

Edwin T. Denig, who entered the fur trade in 1833, married the daughter of an Assiniboin chief and lived among Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri for twenty-one years, twice made physical examinations of a sucking doctor to find where the worms and snakes were hidden. The shaman, who was naked, was not forewarned about the search, and the Indians had never engaged in such investigations themselves.

Yet he acquiesced cheerfully, afterwards continued his performance, and repeated it in our presence, drawing and spitting out large worms, clots of blood, tufts of hair, skin, etc., too large to be easily secreted, and leaving no visible mark on the patient's body. The trick was well done and not yet known to any of us. (Denig 1928-29:424)

There is a recorded case of a Kwakiutl informant who was initiated as a shaman and taught how to perform a sucking cure. George Hunt, the Kwakiutl, wrote the details of his shamanistic practice to Franz Boas. Here is one case where we know how the "cure" was done, although it does not seem to be so impressive a feat as the Jivaro's alleged expectoration of splinter, ants, grasshopper, and lizard. George

Hunt was taught to place some eagle down between his inner upper lip and his gums. While sucking the patient's body, he bit his tongue, so that the down became saturated with blood. At the end of the sucking process he spat out the bloody eagle down and showed it to the impressed onlookers. Hunt became a huge success as a shaman and aroused much envy and hostility among other Kwakiutl medicine men who were not familiar with his particular technique. They begged him to tell them how he did it, but Hunt refused (Boas 1930).

Magic Tricks

The term *magic* has more than one meaning. In previous pages it has referred to supernatural manipulation, as in love magic, hunting magic, garden magic, or sorcery. But the term has another, colloquial meaning, referring to sleight of hand, the magic of performers like Houdini. It is interesting that medicine men have often been magicians in both senses of the word. The sucking-out of objects is itself quite a good trick, but shamans have often performed other marvels, sometimes as a prelude to a cure, as a way of establishing a receptive, trusting attitude on the part of the patient. By demonstrating that he can perform miracles, the shaman shows his credentials, demonstrates his power, and wins assent from his clientele. Many such performances must have been very crude, but some that have been described by travelers are impressive.

Jane M. Murphy (1964) has reported on some of the magic tricks performed by St. Lawrence Island Eskimo shamans. W. F. Doty, a missionary on that island in 1898, was present at a seance when a shaman sank into the ground until only the hair of his head was visible. The Russian ethnographer Bogoras watched a shaman, with arms crossed on his bare chest, make a walrus skin stick to his shoulders so tightly (without visible attachments) that he was able to pull Bogoras, who was hanging onto it, out of the room. Another shaman was said to make a parka rise from the ground and stand up without visible support. Murphy gives various other examples of such tricks, including ventriloquism.

One of the most impressive reports along these lines is one by E. Lucas Bridges, included in an autobiographical account of his life in Tierra del Fuego, at the southern tip of South America, where he was born, the son of a missionary.

Bridges described the performance of a medicine man named Houshken, which took place outdoors on a clear, moonlit night. Houshken began by chanting, then brought his hands to his mouth and produced a strip of guanaco hide about eighteen inches long. He shook his hands violently and gradually separated them until the strip was about four feet long. Then Houshken called his brother, who took one

end of the strip, which now doubled its length. After this, however, the strip began to diminish and soon disappeared into Houshken's hand.

With the continued agitation of his hands, the strip got shorter and shorter. Suddenly, when his hands were almost together, he clapped them to his mouth, uttered a prolonged shriek, then held out his hands to us, palm upward and empty.

Even an ostrich could not have swallowed those eight feet of hide at one gulp without visible effort. Where the coil could have gone to I do not profess to know. It could not have gone up Houshken's sleeve, for he had dropped his robe when the performance began. (Bridges 1950:285)

Later, Houshken produced a small, semitransparent object that rapidly revolved between his hands, less than two feet from Bridges's face. When Houshken's hands drew to about three inches apart, it disappeared.

Leather seems to have played a role in tricks of the type just cited, among both the Eskimos and the Ona. And the mouth is important in the episodes described by Wright, Denig, and Bridges. But perhaps there are few other places where a naked shaman could hide something.

Sincerity of Shamans

Some of the foregoing data suggest that some medicine men must be deliberate frauds who deceive their patients. This, at least, was the case of the Kwakiutl George Hunt, who became a shaman in order to find out whether shamans really had supernatural powers and soon discovered that they did not. Kwakiutl shamans, who were leagued in groups, gained much wealth and status from their profession. In this they were assisted by spies, whom Hunt called "the eyes of the shamans," for they reported to the shamans about current ailments in different communities. This enabled a shaman, when he appeared on the scene, to seem clairvoyant, already knowing all about a patient's sickness and where it was located (Boas 1930:9-11).

Paul Radin (1957:41-51) believed that in food-gathering societies like the Yokuts of California, the shamans were leagued in a conspiracy with the chiefs to terrorize the other members of the society and maintain control over them. This may sometimes have happened, but neither the Yokuts nor the Kwakiutl seem typical of hunting-gathering societies. The tribes of California and the Northwest Coast were unusually concerned with wealth and status. The cynicism and opportunism of the Kwakiutl shamans do not seem to have been general traits of medicine men.

It is true, nevertheless, that the sucking cure involves deception in the production of twigs, stones, and other objects that cannot possibly

have been sucked from the patient's body. This could be excused on the ground that the visible presentation of the object adds to the patient's sense of security. More than that, the shaman often seems to really believe in his powers, despite his knowledge of his own deception, and when he is sick, he goes to another medicine man who uses the same techniques (Elkin 1954:281). A variable combination of fraud and sincerity seems to have been characteristic of medicine men.

Wrangel, a late eighteenth-century traveler in Siberia, denied that Siberian shamans were impostors:

"Anyone who has observed a *true* shaman at the height of ecstasy will certainly . . . admit that he is neither able to practice deception, at least at that moment, nor desirous of doing so, but that what is occurring to him is a consequence of the involuntary and irresistible influence of his intensely stimulated imagination. A true shaman is certainly a very remarkable psychological phenomenon." (Quoted in Oesterreich 1930:295-96)

Religion and Projection

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, suggested that concepts about gods may be modeled after a child's relationships with its parents. We are relatively defenseless creatures who need reassurance against anxiety. Freud has written (1957:39-40):

Now when the child grows up and finds that he is destined to remain a child for ever, and that he can never do without protection against unknown and mighty powers, he invests these with the traits of the father-figure; he creates for himself the gods, of whom he is afraid, whom he seeks to propitiate, and to whom he nevertheless entrusts the task of protecting him.

Abram Kardiner, a later psychoanalyst, carried this notion further. He believed that in societies with good parental care, idealized deities will appear in the pantheon, modeled after the benevolent parents. But in societies where parental care is poor and children are neglected, it will be difficult for the members of the society to idealize their gods. A case in point is Alor, the Indonesian society studied by Cora Du Bois, where children suffer much maternal neglect and little is expected of the deities, whose effigies are carelessly made and soon discarded. In the Western world, on the other hand, we have long traditions of good parental care and also belief in an idealized, loving God the Father, from whom all blessings flow (Kardiner et al. 1945).

In some societies there are beliefs in gods who are hostile and threaten human beings. This is hard to account for in terms of the

familiar notion that religion is a solace, a source of reassurance. While religion may supply reassurance, it also often adds to human fears and anxieties. Christianity gives people belief in a loving God and the hope of Heaven, but it also gives them belief in a Devil, Hell, and the prospect of eternal damnation. Thus, religions sometimes seem to take away with one hand what they give with the other.

The religious pantheons of some societies contain more frightening gods and spirits than benevolent ones. Jules Henry (1944:95) writes of the Kaingang of the jungles of Brazil that "the emphasis in the supernaturalism is not on the beneficence of the supernaturals but on their vindictiveness if thwarted and on the danger inherent in any contact with them." Similarly, for the Aymara of Peru "the great majority of supernatural beings are at best ambivalent toward mortals, if, indeed, they are not actively malevolent" (Tschopik 1951:190). In the list of deities believed in by the Ifugao of the Philippines, R. F. Barton gives the names of thirty-one gods who send dysentery, twenty-one "boil and abscess producers," twenty "liver-attacking deities," four "headache deities," fourteen deities that cause wounds, five that send arthritis, fifty "harpies," and ten "spitters" (Barton 1946:62-74).

An attempt has been made to relate such fears to patterns of socialization in a cross-cultural survey undertaken by William W. Lambert, Leigh Minturn Triandis, and Margery Wolf. The authors rated sixty-two societies described in ethnographic accounts in terms of (1) general benevolence or aggressiveness attributed to supernaturals and (2) children's experience of pain or relative lack of pain from their nurturing agents. The statistical analysis showed that in societies where infants were treated punitively, there tended to be beliefs in aggressive supernaturals. This would be in harmony with the Freud-Kardiner theory of projection. Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959), however, have a somewhat different interpretation of their correlations. They reason that anxiety is produced in a child through its conflicting anticipations of pain and nurture. This conflict is reduced by conceiving of a god or gods as aggressive, which is in keeping with the anticipation of harm. The findings of Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf must be considered only preliminary. More investigations should be made into the contrasting belief systems in different societies about benevolent and malevolent supernaturals.

A Typology of Cult Institutions

Anthony F. C. Wallace (1966:84-88) has drawn up a typology of cult institutions as follows: (1) individualistic, (2) shamanic, (3) communal, and (4) ecclesiastical.

Australian aborigines in a religious ritual. This would be classified as a communal cult, according to the typology of cult institutions presented by Anthony F. C. Wallace. *Australian Information Service*



The individualistic type refers to rituals performed by persons who are not specialists, such as an Ojibwa boy's vision quest or a person's private prayer at a family shrine.

The second category refers to shamanism, in which a distinction is made between the magico-religious specialist and ordinary laymen.

Communal cults are performed by groups of laymen in rites of transition, calendrical ceremonies, ancestor cults, or other ceremonies. No full-time priesthood is involved.

Ecclesiastical cult institutions, however, do have priests, professional religious specialists who are neither shamans nor lay officials.

There is an implicit evolutionary progression in Wallace's scheme. "In societies containing an ecclesiastical cult institution, there will also be communal, shamanic, and individualistic institutions. Where there is no ecclesiastical institution, but a communal one, there will be also shamanic and individualistic varieties. And when there is neither ecclesiastical nor communal, there will be shamanic and individualistic" (Wallace 1966:88). The presumably earlier forms are retained in the later. There seem to be no societies that have only individualistic cult institutions, but there are some, such as the Eskimos, that have both individualistic and shamanic types. The following sections will deal with communal and ecclesiastical cults.

Rites of Transition

Rites of transition, or rites of passage, are ceremonies performed at certain stages in the life cycle of an individual when he or she moves from one status to another. A ceremony may be performed at birth to greet the new baby and welcome it into the world of the living. This ceremony also involves a change of status for the married couple, especially if it is their first child—they now become parents.

Initiation ceremonies mark the transition from childhood to adulthood at puberty. These were discussed in Chapter 10, where there were brief accounts of Arunta and Chaga initiations. Some societies lack puberty ceremonies. Margaret Mead explained the absence of female initiation in Samoa in terms of the smooth transition from childhood to womanhood, with little change in roles.

The Arunta initiation of young boys is under the supervision of the older men, who also go through ceremonies involving the *churingas* and totemic rites.

In societies that have ecclesiastical cults, rites of transition may be presided over by priests, rather than a group of laymen.

Marriage is an important transition point, although it does not involve ceremonial behavior in all societies. Among the Kaingang, Murngin, Papago, and Sirionó there are no marriage ceremonies, and there is very little ceremony at the time of marriage among the Ifaluk, Kwoma, and Trobriand Islanders (Stephens 1963:221). At the other extreme, in northern India, the marriage cycle is drawn out over a period of two years or more, with various ritual stages before the final consummation of the marriage.

Death is another occasion for rites of transition, usually accompanied by mourning. This reaches an acute pitch among the Arunta, who gash themselves with knives and sharp, pointed digging sticks at a funeral, the women “battering one another’s heads with fighting clubs,” as Spencer and Gillen reported. Among the Arunta there is not only sadness at a death but also a kind of rage or anger, probably because deaths are seen as being due to sorcery.

Why do people mourn and weep at a funeral? The answer seems simple: because they have lost a loved friend, spouse, or relative. Durkheim, in analyzing Spencer and Gillen’s data, rejected this apparently obvious explanation. He pointed out that in the midst of mourning, if someone speaks of some temporal interest, the mourners’ expressions may suddenly change and they may assume a laughing tone before going back to their weeping. “Mourning is not a natural movement of private feelings wounded by a cruel loss; it is a duty imposed by the group,” concluded Durkheim (1965:443). No member of the group is allowed to be indifferent; by collectively mourning, the

members express their solidarity, and thus they overcome and repair the loss that has befallen them. Durkheim's view seems a bit cynical in denying to the mourners spontaneity of feeling, which must often be real enough, but he is no doubt right about the function of mourning in unifying the group.

Freud also had a theory about mourning. It was his belief that people are invariably ambivalent in their emotions, and that neurotic individuals are particularly ambivalent. One does not only love one's wife or husband; one also hates him or her, although the hatred may be repressed and only partially conscious. At one point or another, according to Freud, one has wished for the death of one's spouse. Thus, when that death actually occurs, it may trigger a sense of guilt in the survivor. Freud accounted in this way for the deep depression and self-blame that sometimes follow a death. The survivor may accuse himself of not having been attentive enough to the deceased, even though his record on that score may have been excellent. Freud explained in these terms the fact that in many non-Western societies recently deceased persons are often regarded as malevolent spirits, hostile to the living; for the survivor, plagued with his feelings of guilt, projects his own aggression onto the ghost. Freud noted that modern humans no longer fear the recent dead. His explanation for this was that primitive peoples must have been more ambivalent in their emotions than modern humans (Freud 1938:852-58; see also Opler 1936.)

Arnold van Gennep wrote a pioneer sociological analysis of transition rites called *The Rites of Passage* (1908, translated in 1960), in which he differentiated three stages: separation, margin, and aggregation. *Separation* marks the beginning of the transition by removing the subject from his or her current position in society; *margin* or transition is a liminal stage that prepares the subject for the coming new status; and *aggregation* or reintegration marks the neophyte's reappearance and acceptance in society with the new status. Victor W. Turner (1969) further developed van Gennep's analysis in a discussion of the in-between *liminal* stage. Here we will consider Turner's thesis in its application to a male initiation ceremony.

Turner notes that the in-between condition is often regarded in small-scale non-Western societies as anomalous and taboo. The young male initiand is neither child nor man but occupies a stage in between, and he must remain socially invisible until the ritual transition has been accomplished. Sometimes the neophyte is treated as if he were dead, being buried and required to lie motionless, smeared with clay or stained black. On the other hand, he may be associated with the symbolism of birth or treated like an infant. Turner refers to *Purity and Danger* (1966) by Mary Douglas, who claims that whatever is unclear by social definition tends to be regarded as polluting. It is in these terms that Douglas explains the taboos concerning different

kinds of animals outlined in Leviticus. Genesis presented a threefold classification—beasts of the earth, water, and firmament—upon which Leviticus amplified. “Any class of creatures which is not equipped for the right kind of locomotion in its element is contrary to holiness. . . . Thus anything in the water which has not fins and scales is unclean. . . . Four-footed creatures which fly (xi, 20–26) are unclean. Any creature which has two legs and two hands and which goes on all fours like a quadruped is unclean” (Douglas 1966:55–56; see also Leach 1964, which echoes some of Douglas’s themes).

Boys undergoing initiation share the polluting qualities of such anomalous creatures. They are sometimes treated as if they were neither male nor female, or somehow both at once, and they lack distinctive status, property, and other identifying marks of everyday social life. It follows from this that there is complete equality among the initiands, while at the same time there is a marked polarity between the boys and their adult instructors, involving a relationship of complete submission to the adults.

Turner makes a comparison between the temporary liminal stage of initiation and the longer-lasting egalitarian brotherhoods of millenarian religious movements. Such movements share a social bond that Turner calls *communitas*, which is in contrast or opposition to structured society with its inequalities, rank distinctions, and possession of property. “Transition has here become a permanent condition. Nowhere has this institutionalization of liminality been more clearly marked and defined than in the monastic and mendicant states in the great world religions” (Turner 1969:107).

Priesthood

Priests are religious specialists who are found in relatively advanced agricultural societies, including the Bronze Age civilizations of the Old World and the Inca, Aztec, and Maya Indians of the New. Priesthood depends upon the existence of an organized cult worshipping a god or pantheon of gods and having definite doctrines and rituals. The job of the priest is to learn the rituals properly; as a novice, he undergoes training in these and other matters until he is declared by his superiors to be a qualified priest. The priest differs from the shaman in various ways. He does not have to see spirits or be possessed by them or have any particular dreams or visions. He succeeds to an office, while the shaman is more of a self-made man, or a man who has acquired spirit helpers. The priest does not depend upon spirit helpers. His authority comes from the religious order of which he is a part; he is an organization man. He is also more apt to be a full-time specialist than the shaman.

In societies where priests and shamans coexist, there may be rivalry between them, with the shaman as a freewheeling individualist trying to bypass the authority of the cult organization, while the latter tries to monopolize religious activities under its own control.

The foregoing generalizations about shamans and priests do not always hold. Although the Ojibwa were hunting-gathering people, they had a kind of priest, the Mide priest, or priest of the Medicine Dance. He was often a shaman as well, but he did not need to be, and he was not required to have had a fasting dream or vision. A man who became a Mide priest learned ritual and Mide lore as an assistant and understudy to a Mide priest.

Wallace, whose typology of religious cults we have been following, distinguishes between two kinds of ecclesiastical institutions in which priests officiate: *Olympian*, which recognize a pantheon of gods; and *monotheistic*, in which there is worship of one supreme being. As an example of Olympian religion, he cites precolonial Dahomey, a west coast African kingdom based on advanced horticulture. In the Dahomean Great Gods cult, each deity was responsible for a particular aspect of nature; each had its own temple, priests, ritual, and mythology. Similar Olympian cults existed in the American Indian civilizations of the Inca, Maya, and Aztecs and in such East Asian societies as Burma, Indonesia, Korea, and Japan.

As examples of monotheistic ecclesiastical cults, Wallace lists Hindu-Buddhist, Judeo-Christian, Islamic, and Chinese monotheism. But the characterization of Hinduism as monotheistic is questionable; insofar as traditional village practices are concerned, it is better characterized as Olympian. Monotheism seems to be associated with political complexity. Guy E. Swanson (1969), at any rate, found this association in a cross-cultural study of fifty societies, as well as an association between monotheism and food production rather than food collection.

Religious Movements

Religious movements of great dynamism have often swept quickly over large populations, sometimes crossing national and linguistic borders. Very often they are started by visionary prophets. They may be a response to contact with peoples having a more advanced culture, and the religion may then represent a kind of nationalistic protest, as in the Shawano cult of the Woodland Indians in 1808, the Ghost Dance of the Plains in the 1870s and again in 1890, and the Cargo cults of Melanesia from 1913 to recent years. Let us consider these three movements briefly.

The prophet of the Shawano cult was the brother of the Indian leader

Tecumseh, and his religion was related to the latter's struggle against the whites. The prophet called for a return to the Indian ways and a boycott of the trader's goods—beef and pork, flint and steel, guns and traps. The Indians were urged to give up sorcery, to throw away their medicine bags, and to stop drinking liquor. We see here something reminiscent of India's anti-British, noncooperation movement under Gandhi's leadership, an effort to break away from dependence on the enemy through boycott and to return to some earlier, simpler conditions of life during the struggle. Although the Shawano cult did not succeed, since the whites were already well entrenched, it was a practical, realistic movement, in contrast to the Ghost Dance, which relied more heavily on magic.

The Ghost Dance found many converts among the Paiute and some tribes in California and Oregon in the early 1870s, since it promised that adherents to the cult would be reunited with their dead parents and other relatives and that the whites would disappear and the Indians become rich. There was some disillusionment when these prophecies did not come true, but in 1889 and 1890 there was a revival of the Ghost Dance, which this time affected the Indians of the Great Plains. The culture of these Indians was being destroyed by the disappearance of the buffalo herds upon which they had depended. Added to the earlier prophecies of the white man's extinction and the return of the Indian dead, there was also included the prophesied return of the buffalo. The religion involved prolonged dancing, until some members fell into trance states. Members wore supposedly bulletproof "ghost shirts," some of which (sometimes with bullet holes in them) are now on display in our museums. The ghost shirt exemplifies the magical, unrealistic nature of this cult, which quickly died out, although there is still an Indian group in Canada that adheres to a Ghost Dance cult.

Many *Cargo cults*, as they have been called, have flourished in Melanesia at different times and places. The most common element is a prediction that ships or airplanes will soon appear, bringing all kinds of valued goods to the natives, including refrigerators and other things possessed by the whites. Sometimes the cultists are enjoined to throw away their old belongings; otherwise, the new goods will not come. These movements sometimes have antiwhite predictions, like those of the Ghost Dance.

The Melanesians have seen Europeans enjoying the use of all kinds of equipment that has come by ship; they have no idea of how or where the equipment is made. It is apparently produced by a kind of magic, which some Melanesians have tried to divert to themselves by engaging in cult activities that imitate magical European behavior, such as marching, drilling, and performing rituals with flagpoles. In the Vailala movement of Papua from 1919 to 1929, it was thought that flagpoles were the media through which messages came from the dead.

The heavily magical Cargo cults usually have a short life, since the promised cargoes do not materialize; their ship does not come in.

These three examples of religious movements show that religion does not necessarily remain stable and may be affected by economic crises, contacts with other cultures, a sense of relative deprivation and resentment, and nationalistic feelings.

Summary

Various aspects of religion, including animistic beliefs and religious rituals, are manifest in all societies, if not in all individuals. E. B. Tylor argued that *animism* (belief in spiritual beings) is the core of religion, from which all other aspects of religion sprang, including concepts of possession and fetishism, beliefs in an afterlife, ancestor worship, and the worship of nature gods. According to Tylor, the basic belief in spirits developed naturally from people's experiences of dreaming and their reflections about dreams, trance states, illness, and death. In his view monotheism was a late development in the evolution of religion.

Animatism, an aspect of religious thought not discussed by Tylor, is belief in an impersonal supernatural power, like *mana*. Religion may emphasize either the personal, animistic aspects of the supernatural world or its impersonal, animatistic aspects. The former approach is supplicative in nature, while the latter is magical and manipulative.

Émile Durkheim claimed that magic is mainly an individual affair, while religion is a collective enterprise involving a community or congregation. Malinowski saw magic as a relatively simple means to an end, while religion is an end in itself, involving a more complex ideology. According to Malinowski, human beings turn to magic when they encounter an impasse in their efforts to achieve a goal. Under such blocked circumstances it is natural for a person to resort to magic, which has the function of reassuring him and giving him the confidence to persevere. Despite the plausibility of Malinowski's thesis, it is often difficult in practice to distinguish between magic and religion in particular cases.

The shaman or medicine man is a magico-religious specialist who acts as an intermediary between the members of his society and the supernatural world in which they believe. He generally acquires the necessary skills and powers through his own efforts, in contrast to the priest, whose authority comes from a religious order or cult in which he is ordained. Among the techniques for acquiring shamanic power is fasting in solitude to induce visionary experiences. The priest, who does not have to seek such experiences, is a specialist in performing rituals and prayers that he learned as a novice in his order.

From a psychoanalytic point of view, religions are projective systems; beliefs about gods are modeled after children's ideas about their parents. Thus, in a society with good parental care one would expect to find an idealization of supernatural beings, who are conceived as being helpful to humans. However, religious systems do not remain stable. They have often been affected by economic crises and contacts with other cultures, sometimes precipitating nativistic, messianic, and nationalistic cults of considerable dynamism.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A very good source is William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979). It contains well-chosen selections from the writings of Tylor, Frazer, Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, Rasmussen, Linton, Kluckhohn, Opler, and many others.

Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor Books, 1954) is recommended.

An outstanding work is Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969).

An interesting collection of readings is available in Ari Kiev, ed., *Magic, Faith, and Healing: Studies in Primitive Psychiatry Today* (London: Free Press, 1964).

Two good readers on the effects of hallucinogenic drugs and their relation to religion are also recommended: Peter T. Furst, ed., *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972); and Michael J. Harner, ed., *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).



Windows on Three Cultures V

The Inuit

Malinowski's argument that human beings resort to magic when faced with the prospect of failure seems to be supported by accounts of the Inuit, and indeed one would expect to find reliance on magic in an environment that is often threatening. An indication that this is so is the Inuit's profuse use of amulets, which are worn to ward off all possible dangers and to bring good luck to the wearer (Rasmussen 1929:149-51; Weyer 1932:316).

The Inuit, particularly women, are weighed down by a host of taboos. Rasmussen gives a long list of them: no one can work for three days after a bearded seal or a bear has been killed, although clothing may be mended. As long as a seal has not been cut up, skins from the sleeping platform should not be shaken out over the floor and women should not comb their hair; while a seal is being cut up, young girls must not take off their boots until the job is finished; and so on (Rasmussen 1929:184-85). A drink of water is given to freshly killed sea mammals, and their bones are returned to the water, reflecting a notion of reincarnation. The seal can again make use of the bones and come back to life again. There is a widespread taboo that products of land and sea should not be cooked in the same pot at the same time (Jenness 1922:182).

The Eskimos believe in the existence of many beings of earth, sea, and sky, including trolls, mountain dwarfs, giants, and the spirits of stones. The person who makes contact with such spirits and thus serves the community is the shaman.

Both men and women can become shamans among the Eskimos, but most shamans are men. Among the Inuit a candidate who wishes to study under a shaman must present him with something valuable, perhaps some wood, which is scarce. Then the candidate and his parents must confess to all the breaches of taboo they have committed. The training period involves exposure to cold and fasting. A Caribou Eskimo gave Knud Rasmussen a doubtless exaggerated account of having fasted for five days, then being allowed a mouthful of warm water and going another fifteen days without food, then again being given a mouthful of warm water and fasting for ten days more, after which he was allowed to eat but had to avoid entrails and other tabooed foods. The informant claimed that he sat alone in a cold snow hut in wintertime for thirty days and then finally had visions of the spirit he sought (Rasmussen 1930:51-54).

Among the Inuit, as soon as a young man has become a shaman, he is given a special shaman's belt, to which are attached various bone carvings of human figures, fishes, and harpoons. These are presents from people who hope to thereby be protected or, at least, not harmed by the shaman's helping spirits (Rasmussen 1929:111-14).

Sedna

The Inuit formerly believed in the existence of a woman at the bottom of the sea, often known as Sedna. Her story is told with local variations, but it goes roughly like this: Sedna was once an Eskimo girl. She married a bird and went to an island to live with her husband. Her father and brothers did not approve of this match, so they went to the island in a boat and rowed away with Sedna. Angered, the bird called up a storm and great waves on the sea. Sedna's father threw his daughter overboard, but she clung to the side of the boat. Her father then chopped off the first segments of her fingers, but she hung on. Her father next chopped off the second segments, but she still hung on. After one more blow of the knife, Sedna sank to the bottom of the sea, where she remains to this day. The different segments of her fingers turned into different sea mammals, seals, and walrus.

Sedna sometimes gets angry at human beings for breaking taboos. Inuit life is hedged about by so many taboos that it is difficult not to break some of them. There are more taboos affecting women than men, especially taboos concerning menstruation, stillbirths, and food. When a woman breaks a taboo, a kind of smoke or vapor rises up from her body, sinks through the sea, and settles in Sedna's hair in the form of

dirt or maggots, which Sedna cannot comb from her hair since she has no fingers. Angered at human beings, she calls down all the sea mammals, former segments of herself, to the bottom of the sea. The Inuit then face the possibility of starvation.

Here we see an explanation for the hunters' failure to kill game. They have been out by the blowholes on the ice all day but have had no luck. The story tells us that it is not their fault; it is their wives who are to blame for breaking taboos. We will never know whether it was men or women who made up this story, but one would suspect that the men would find it a satisfactory explanation, providing for displacement of possible feelings of guilt or failure. Apart from this, any explanation is better than none, especially when a course of action is made available once the cause of failure is known.

The person who comes to the rescue in this case is the medicine man; he arranges a seance, and the lights are put out. The shaman's voice in the darkness gets fainter as he sinks to the bottom of the sea. Some Inuit believe that the shaman goes to the bottom of the sea in his bodily form, while others hold that only his spirit travels there. At any rate, when he reaches Sedna's home, he appeases her, combs her hair for her, and persuades her to release the sea mammals. Then he surfaces, returning to the Inuit dwelling whence he came.

Upon his return, all the persons in the dwelling must confess the taboos they have broken. They may be reluctant to do so, of course, but fear of famine and of Sedna's anger forces them to confess. In this way, everyone learns about everyone else's secrets. Women may be sent for who are not present; the young wives who come in, crying and penitent, also confess. After this, the men return to their blowholes with renewed confidence (Rasmussen 1929:123-29).

The ideas and actions involved in this ceremony remove from the men any blame for their failure to kill game. This is not due to their incapacity as hunters; rather, it is the women who are responsible. However, no single woman is made a scapegoat. The failure is not the fault of any woman in particular but the general fault of all the women who have broken taboos, and they can be forgiven, since there are too many taboos to keep in mind.

In the seance, when the shaman dives to the bottom of the sea, the people present are made aware of the reality of Sedna, who, in the absence of such dramatizations, might seem to be a rather abstract concept. Sedna is not a very benevolent deity; she has to be placated and coaxed to help mankind and not bring on starvation; and the Inuit seem to feel some hostility toward her. Boas described a ceremony in which Sedna was harpooned by two shamans who stood on either side of a coil of rope, which represented a seal's breathing hole. The shamans proudly displayed the blood-sprinkled harpoon to their audience (Boas 1888:604).

If we were to apply Kardiner's approach to Inuit supernatural beings, we might expect them to be benevolent and helpful; for, as was shown in the Windows on Three Cultures II section, Inuit children are treated very indulgently by their parents. But Sedna seems to be a forbidding deity, and there are other unpleasant female supernatural beings in the Inuit pantheon, including a woman in the moon who disembowels men and an *Amaut* witch (see page 355). Perhaps their dangerous environment makes it difficult for Inuit to project protective parental figures into the supernatural world. A realistic apprehension of the dangers of life seems to constrain their faith, making Inuit reluctant to place much reliance on benevolent deities who cannot be counted on to deliver the goods. A pie-in-the-sky interpretation of religion does not fit the Inuit scene. The Inuit's conceptions about the supernatural world are not at all comforting, and many of the spirits in which they believe are quite dangerous. Rasmussen once prodded a shaman named Aua with questions about why his people had to observe so many taboos. Part of Aua's answer was as follows:

We fear the weather spirit of earth, that we must fight against to wrest our food from land and sea. . . . We fear dearth and hunger in the cold snow huts. We fear . . . the great woman down at the bottom of the sea, that rules over all the beasts of the sea.

We fear the sickness that we meet with daily all around us; not death, but the suffering. We fear the evil spirits of life, those of the air, of the sea and the earth, that can help wicked shamans to harm their fellow men. (Rasmussen 1929:56)

Aua's younger brother added that in order to stay alive, the people had to kill animals, who have souls—souls that must be propitiated, lest they seek revenge.

On the other hand, there is also an Inuit belief that some animals don't mind being killed and even wish to die. After all, they will be born again.

Since the Inuit depend mainly on hunting for subsistence, it is understandable that their religion and the Sedna myth focus on their relationship to the animal world. For the Hopi, whom we consider next, religion centers on the need for rain, fertility, and the growth of crops.

The Hopi of Arizona

The communal calendrical cycle of Hopi rituals was described in the Windows on Three Cultures III section. Masked katchina dances are carried out by the members of kiva groups who are responsible for particular ceremonies in the cycle. Although men have priestly roles in

this society, there are no men who are set aside as priests. Mischa Titiev has commented on this point.

In view of the frequency and magnitude of their ceremonies it is somewhat puzzling to find that the Hopi have no formal priesthood. Even the chiefs who are responsible for the proper performance of major observances can scarcely be termed priests; for not one of them devotes himself exclusively or primarily to religious exercises, none customarily wears distinctive garb, and none is regarded as sanctified or holy. Instead, as the ceremonial cycle progresses, various leaders successively assume responsibility for a set of rites and then revert to lay life for the remainder of the year. (Titiev 1950:366-67)

In some societies religion focuses on crisis rites connected with birth, puberty, marriage, and death. As we saw in *Windows on Three Cultures* III section, the katchina initiations around the time of puberty are important ceremonies, but otherwise Hopi religion is not primarily concerned with rites of transition. Instead, attention is given to the calendrical cycle and the world of natural phenomena, the coming of winter and summer and the need for rain and fertility.

The Hopi believe in the interrelatedness of everything in the universe—plants, animals, clouds, spirits, and human beings are all bound to one another by ties of reciprocity. Human beings have the crucial responsibility of aiding in the harmonious, productive functioning of the universe. They do so through their rituals and through the maintenance of a “good heart.” In the Hopi language “to pray” means the same as “to will.” Success in ceremonial performances is brought about by the collective, creative willing of the community (Thompson 1945). Writing about the Pueblos in general, Alfonso Ortiz (1972:143) remarks: “Everything in the cosmos is believed to be knowable and, being knowable, controllable. Effective control comes only from letter-perfect attention to detail and correct performance, thus the Pueblo emphasis on formulas, ritual, and repetition revealed in ritual drama.”

The calendrical cycle starts in December with the winter solstice ceremony, followed in February by the Powamu, when the returning katchinas are welcomed back to the pueblo. At four-year intervals children are initiated into the Powamu and Katchina societies at this time. In July the katchinas are given a send-off as they leave for the San Francisco Mountains. In August of even-numbered years there are ceremonies performed by the Snake and Antelope societies, alternating with Flute ceremonies in the odd-numbered years. In September there is a women’s basket dance. A concluding ceremony is the Wuwuchim, held in November, when there are tribal initiations for males.

Apart from the dancing, other activities involved in the ceremonies



In attempting to control the cosmos, Pueblo religion lays stress on "formulas, ritual, and repetition." (Alfonso Ortiz).
John Running/Stock, Boston

include the construction of altars in the underground kivas, the making of sand paintings, and the planting of prayer sticks. Women make special kinds of ceremonial corn bread on these occasions.

Although all of the ceremonies are held in a serious spirit, comic relief is provided by clowns who transgress the normal rules of propriety, engaging in obscene and violent behavior, drinking urine, and eating filth. They give burlesque imitations of tourists and of Indians from other tribes. Perhaps this allows for letting off some steam, a kind of catharsis, not only for the clowns but also for the spectators, who can laugh and identify with them to some extent.

At any other time, the sort of behavior indulged in by the clowns would be regarded as *kahopi* or *un-hopi*. What is *hopi* is good, peaceful, law-abiding, healthy, poised, and strong. *Kahopi* refers to the antitheses of these qualities, particularly to quarrelsomeness and divisiveness (Thompson 1945). The archetype of *kahopi* tendencies is the witch. Reference was made in *Windows on Three Cultures IV* to the pervasive fear of witchcraft among the Hopi. There is a belief in a secret society of witches who prolong their own lives by causing the deaths of others. They are supposed to meet at night at secret gatherings—a possible diffusion via the Spaniards of medieval European notions about covens of witches. The idea of sorcery, to be sure, is an ancient, widespread New World pattern; what is unusual in the Pueblo area is the collective, organized character that has been attributed to

witchcraft, although that is quite in keeping with the generally collective emphasis in Pueblo culture.

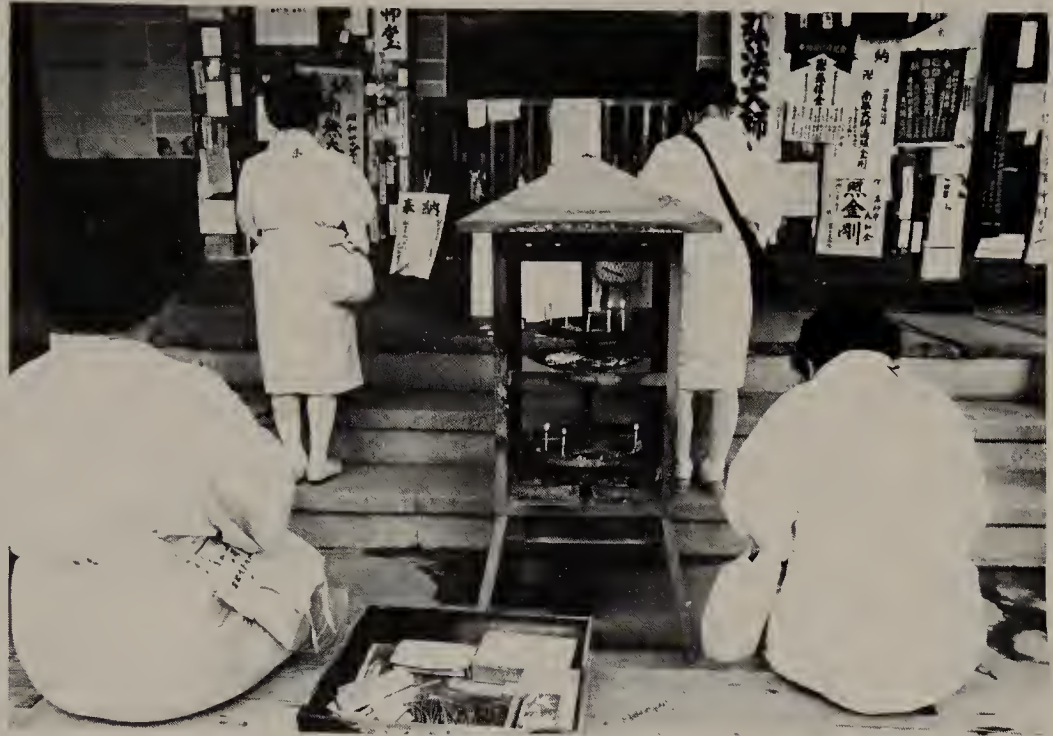
Both Inuit and Hopi religion are concerned with the subsistence basis—the hunting of animals among the Inuit and the fertility of the fields among the Hopi. It is interesting that Alfonso Ortiz, who is both an anthropologist and a Pueblo Indian, finds Pueblo religion to be very similar to the religions of horticultural societies that have appeared in other parts of the world since Neolithic times. “I get the distinct impression that by simply altering the terminology a bit for ancient Near Eastern religions the statements could apply just as well to the Pueblos” (Ortiz 1972:141).

Contemporary Japan

Present-day Japanese generally seem to be rather unconcerned about religion. On the other hand, the country is full of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, which are often crowded. In many homes there is a *butsudan*, a Buddhist family shrine, and a *kamidana*, a Shinto “spirit shelf.” This juxtaposition shows that there is no conflict between these two religions. Most Japanese will visit either Buddhist or Shinto religious places without distinction and feel under no obligation to “belong to” one religion or the other.

Shinto, the earlier, indigenous Japanese religion, affirms no definite doctrine or ethical system. Spirits of particular places, such as mountains and woods, are worshiped, and the sun, lakes, rivers, trees, and stones are revered. Purification rituals are carried out by priests at Shinto shrines, which are distinguished by their *torii* gateways. Music is played at these shrines, and young female temple attendants occasionally give dance performances. Soon after birth a new baby is brought to a community shrine, and so is a newlywed bride. A shrine is the dwelling place of a god, and an annual festival is held in the deity's honor.

Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China and Korea in the sixth century A.D. as part of a wholesale adoption of Chinese patterns of culture, including the Chinese script and traditions of art and architecture. It was at first almost a state religion, but it did not remain so. Oda Nobunaga, who gained control of Japan in 1568, waged war for ten years against Buddhist monasteries which had by that time acquired much tax-free land and political power and maintained large armies of fighting monks and mercenaries. During the subsequent Tokugawa period (1603–1868) Buddhism was somewhat strengthened by the requirement that all Japanese had to register at local Buddhist temples, although this regulation was mainly designed to check on converts to Christianity.



Pilgrims at Kagawa
ken shrine, Shikoku.
A shrine is the dwell-
ing place of a god.
Sekai Bunka Photo

Buddhism involves the belief that human beings must go through a cycle of reincarnations, being drawn back to earth by the force of former sins and passions. The Buddhist solution to the misery of existence is to lead so pure a life that one will not be obliged to go through another earthly incarnation. Such ideas do not seem to engage the minds of most Japanese very much, but Buddhism does have important functions in contemporary Japan, primarily in connection with funerals and the cult of the dead. The *butsudan* in a traditional Japanese home is a cupboard or cabinet containing tablets inscribed with names of dead members of the family and images of *bodhisattvas*, advanced souls who help human beings achieve salvation. When someone dies, a Buddhist priest from the family temple holds funeral services before the family *butsudan*. Writing about a Tokyo ward named Shitayama-cho, R. P. Dore observes: "Most Buddhist temples are almost exclusively concerned with death and the family cult, and few people in Shitayama-cho ever go to a temple for any other reason" (Dore 1965:315). Ninety-four out of a hundred people questioned at Shitayama-cho said that they had such a family temple.

Confucian ideas were emphasized by the government during the Tokugawa period, but not as a formal religion. There are no Confucian temples or shrines in Japan, and there is no Confucian priesthood. But Confucian ethical principles have been absorbed by the Japanese and have been very influential in everyday life.

During the Tokugawa period there was also a Shinto revival that

glorified the imperial line tracing descent from the Sun Goddess, an idea that encouraged the nationalistic feelings that brought about the Meiji Restoration in 1868. During the Meiji period there was state support for major Shinto shrines, and education was combined with religion and patriotism in ceremonies for the young. John F. Embree has described how six-year-old children went through a kind of passage rite at a Shinto shrine in the village of Suze Mura during the 1930s:

Here, with teachers and other older school children, a short Shinto ritual is performed. The priest gives the young a little talk on the virtues and greatness of Japan, the emperor, and the gods and then hands to each of the neophytes a copy of the first-year book of ethics published by the department of education. . . . After the shrine service he [the student] attends school for the first time as a student, dressed up in a new black uniform and cap. . . . On entering the school grounds, he bows toward the closet in the main auditorium where the emperor's portrait is housed. (Embree 1939:185-86)

These practices were discontinued after World War II, when state Shinto came under attack by the American occupation, and government-financed support for Shinto shrines was withdrawn.

After the war a host of new religions sprang up in Japan. These tended to be more congregational in nature than Shinto and traditional Buddhism. They were mainly aimed at bringing happiness and security in this life. Best known among the new cults, and having the largest membership, is Soka Gakkai, which now numbers more than six million followers—sixteen million, according to the Soka Gakkai leadership. Soka Gakkai is a considerably modified form of Buddhism that considers happiness and success in this life to be appropriate human goals. It is a proselytizing religion; each new member is expected to make converts. Each member belongs to a ten-person group that contains the person who first converted him or her. Each member also belongs to a group based in the local neighborhood. In addition, there are interest groups and peer groups, so that members may become involved in various collective activities. This religion appeals mainly to city dwellers, rather than to rural people, especially to such occupational groups as bar girls, bank clerks, and shop owners. It does not appeal much to managerial and professional people. In Tokyo, members are highly concentrated in the downtown area. Apparently Soka Gakkai meets a need to belong to some continuing social group, to overcome the impersonality and loneliness of city life. The Komeito party, one of the main political parties in Japan today, inaugurated in 1964, is the political wing of Soka Gakkai.

Contemporary Japanese religion contains an amalgam of ancient and new practices. There are cults led by persons who can be compared to shamans in their techniques of possession and curing practices.

There are Buddhist and Shinto priests; and there are individualistic, family, and communal religious cults. Calendrical festivals continue to be followed, particularly in rural districts. Among the leading calendrical ceremonies are New Year's, Girls' Day, Spring Festival, Boys' Day, Bon (in honor of ancestors), and Fall Festival. Most of these festivals are celebrated with family visits and feasting.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best source on Inuit religion is Knud Rasmussen, *The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, vol. 7, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1929). See also Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture*, in the same series, vol. 8, 1931.

For the Hopi, see Mischa Titiev, "The Religion of the Hopi Indians," in *Ancient Religions*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), pp. 365-78. See also Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); and Alfonso Ortiz, "Ritual Drama and the Pueblo World View," in *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), pp. 135-61.

On contemporary Japan, see William Theodore de Bary, "Japanese Religion," in *An Introduction to Japanese Civilization*, ed. Arthur E. Tiedemann (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1974), pp. 309-28; and Richard K. Beardsley, "Religion and Philosophy," in *Twelve Doors to Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Richard K. Beardsley (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pp. 310-47. Japan's postwar religions are discussed in H. Neill McFarland, *The Rush Hour of the Gods: A Study of New Religious Movements in Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

Part Seven

Recreation, Folklore, and the Arts





The Enjoyment of Life: Simple Pleasures and the Arts

Life brings much disappointment, frustration, and tragedy. This may seem like an odd way to start a chapter entitled “The Enjoyment of Life,” but the point is that there are usually sufficient incentives to go on living, in spite of sickness, deformity, debts, taxes, loneliness, boring work, unhappy marriage, feuds with neighbors, military service, and all the other miseries that may assail us. Religion and other compensations give some people the strength to carry on, but many others break down, fall ill, go mad, or commit suicide. Even so, most people seem to find life worth living. “Life can be beautiful,” as the saying goes. In this chapter we will briefly examine some of the pleasures of life that men and women have enjoyed in different times, places, and cultures, ranging from the more biological satisfactions of food and sex and such simple pleasures as games and joking to the enjoyment of the arts: storytelling, decorative art, and music.

Food

Eating is something we have to do to stay alive. Most people find it enjoyable, too, although there are children with feeding problems and some persons who do not seem to get much pleasure from it. Cultures vary, as individuals do. The French and Chinese are noted for their



Hindu woman cooking.
Drawn by Victor Barnouw

cuisine, the variety of their dishes, and their interest in food, whereas English cooking has a low reputation. Oscar Lewis (1951:187-91) writes that the basic diet of the people of Tepoztlán, Mexico, is corn, beans, and chile. Corn provides from 10 to 70 percent of the family diet. For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortillas; the midday dinner generally features tortillas and chile, and sometimes, on good days, there is meat and vegetables and rice or noodles cooked in broth. For supper there are tortillas or bread, with perhaps some cheese. This sounds like a monotonous diet to a middle-class American. But Lin Yutang (1937:253-54), the Chinese writer, in turn, finds American cuisine "dull and insipid and extremely limited in variety," especially in its treatment of vegetables and soups.

Lin Yutang, who holds eating to be "one of the very few solid joys of human life," remarks that it is fortunate that it is less hedged about with taboos than sex and that, "generally speaking, no question of morality arises in connection with food" (Yutang 1937:48). Here he seems to forget that food taboos of one kind or another are universal. There are millions of Hindus and Jains in India who, for religious reasons, will not eat meat. The idea of eating beef is particularly abhorrent to them, as is the eating of pork to Muslims and Jews. The Apache Indians will not eat fish, although edible trout are available in their streams. Lin Yutang lists with evident gusto some dishes he

particularly, enjoys, including carp's head, pig's tripe, ox's tripe, and large snails, which pious Hindus, and perhaps many Americans, would not dream of eating.

The pleasure of eating is surely enhanced or diminished by the nature of the social setting in which it takes place and by cultural traditions about food. In Europe, the United States, China, Japan, and many other regions, there is a tradition of the family meal, where all the family members eat together. When men are away all day at work and the children have lunch at school, this is not always feasible, but the tradition is still maintained, when possible. This tradition strengthens the sense of family unity and may be (although it often is not) an occasion for pleasant conversation and relaxed enjoyment. While the tradition of the family meal may seem to be a natural, almost inevitable, invention, it is not found in all societies. Among the Rājapūts of Khalapur in northern India the men eat separately from the women and children. Minturn and Hitchcock write (1963:244):

Each man eats either at his own hearth or men's quarters. Each woman takes her food into her own room or into a corner of the courtyard where she can turn her back toward the other women. Children are fed when they demand food and may eat together or separately.

There is no set dining hour. The custom of turning one's back to others while eating, sometimes associated with feelings of embarrassment or uneasiness about food, is found in some other cultures, including those of Bali and the Trobriand Islands.

The Sirionó of eastern Bolivia do much of their eating individually, late at night. This is partly because they spend most of the day hunting and gathering, but also because they do not want to be forced to share food with others who come around begging for scraps. So they have furtive late-night snacks while others are asleep (Holmberg 1950:36).

One cannot be sure that individualistic eating patterns such as those of the Rājapūts of Khalapur and the Sirionó diminish the enjoyment of food; perhaps, instead, they enhance it. But they would seem, at least, to shorten the meal and to lessen opportunity for relaxed sociability in connection with it. Like the hurried chompers of frankfurters at a quick-lunch counter, they may be missing something.

The Chinese are notable not only for the variety of their food and their interest in eating but also for the development of aesthetic attitudes about it. Lin Yutang devotes many pages to the pleasures of drinking tea, which has been popular in China since at least the fourth century A.D. and perhaps earlier. The Japanese have developed an elaborate ceremony around tea drinking. In both China and Japan, the sipping of tea is associated with quietness, reflection, and aesthetic contemplation. Where such aesthetic and gastronomic traditions are



A family dinner in a Korean-American family. (Both chopsticks and forks are being used.) © Jean-Claude Lejeune/Stock, Boston

present, the satisfactions of food and drink are probably much increased. It would seem that if food is one of the main pleasures of life, some societies allow greater scope for such enjoyment than others.

Sex

Desmond Morris has stated that man is “the sexiest primate alive”; in this case, “man” embraces woman, as the proverbial professor of anthropology told his class. “Sexiest” does not refer to physical appeal; Morris means that humans have a stronger sexual drive than other primates. He notes that copulation in apes and monkeys is often very brief, lasting only a few seconds in baboons. It seems unlikely that the females are capable of orgasm, as women are, although orgasmic reactions have been reported for some female chimpanzees. If field reports are representative, it would seem that our closest relatives, the apes, do not engage in much sexual activity, although it may be that some of this behavior occurs at night or at other times when field workers are not around. At any rate, Morris (1969:53) writes: “We can see that there is much more intense sexual activity in our own species than in any other primates, including our closest relations. For them, the lengthy courtship phase is missing. Hardly any of the monkeys and apes develop a prolonged pair-bond relationship.” If the human sexual drive is so strong, its satisfaction must be correspondingly intense, although the intensity varies from one individual to another.

One of the surprising discoveries of the first Kinsey report was the great variability in the number of orgasms experienced by males. One man was reported to have had over thirty orgasms a week for over thirty years, while another said that he had had only one ejaculation in thirty years. The mean frequency for white American males under thirty years of age is reported to be about 3.3 per week (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1948:195). Great variability is also reported for women in the second Kinsey report: "22 percent of the married females between the ages of sixteen and twenty, and 12 percent of the married females between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, had never experienced any orgasm from any source" (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Gebhard 1953:532). On the other hand, about 14 percent of the females in the married sample regularly had multiple orgasms during coitus (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Gebhard 375). It is evident that the satisfactions derived from sex vary enormously among individuals.

The Kinsey report on American males also showed that sexual behavior is influenced by economic class membership and by the extent of education. Hence, it is affected by cultural conditions.

There are even greater differences in lovemaking among the various cultures of the world. If love is a universal language, it has many dialects. Kissing, so important in American lovemaking, is not a trait of nonhuman primates and is not found in all human groups. Clellan Ford and Frank Beach list the following societies where kissing is said to be unknown: Bali, Chamorro, Lepcha, Manus, Sirionó, and Thonga (Ford and Beach 1951:58). The position assumed in intercourse is often culturally determined. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin estimated that 70 percent of American couples have never experimented with any position other than the most common one, in which the woman lies on her back and the man lies above her. Among the Trobriand Islanders, on the other hand, the man is usually in a squatting position, while among the Murngin the woman lies on her side with her back to the man.

Attitudes about sex also differ greatly in different societies, ranging from great permissiveness and acceptance to feelings of guilt and disapproval. Like the idea of original sin, such attitudes may be associated with religion. Many Hindus, for example, believe that semen is stored in the head and that to accumulate the supply leads to physical and spiritual power; so there is reluctance to lose semen.

The setting and circumstances in which sexual behavior occurs also affect the nature and degree of sexual satisfaction. In many villages in northern India the men sleep in a separate men's quarters. If a man wants to have intercourse with his wife, he gets up during the night and goes to the women's quarters, where many women and children may be sleeping. These arrangements do not allow for much privacy. Privacy is lacking in many societies where a family shares a

single-room dwelling, such as a wigwam, tepee, igloo, mud hut, or log cabin. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to keep children from observing adult intercourse. It may be partly for this reason that in many such societies no effort is made to prolong the sex act or to delay orgasm. The Berens River Ojibwa, for example, make no effort of this sort. They engage in little or no foreplay or petting, little kissing, and no manipulation of breasts. Oral-genital contacts are taboo. The couples seldom undress to the point of nudity. The man's aim is to achieve orgasm as quickly as possible, and the woman's role is purely passive. A. Irving Hallowell (1949), who provides this information, points to the similarity of these patterns to those of lower-class Americans, as described in the Kinsey report.

As with food, we may conclude that the enjoyment of sexual experience is much affected by attitudes and values, and that some societies allow much greater possibilities for such enjoyment than others.

Play

A general primate trait, play is, of course, a very important activity among human beings, not limited to childhood. The most frequent social activity among young apes and monkeys is play fighting, which finds especially elaborate expression among chimpanzees. Young monkeys may spend four or five hours a day playing in groups. Play is inhibited by some factors and facilitated by others. Exposure to unfamiliar objects or conditions may depress play, while moderate novelty encourages it. The amount of play activity varies in different primate species; the chimpanzee seems to be one of the most playful primates and the gorilla one of the least playful (De Vore 1965:528-30, 619). It seems likely that humans evolved from a more playful and imaginative chimpanzee-like ancestor, rather than from a forerunner like the dull, businesslike gorilla.

Athletic sports and games both appear in Murdock's list of universal aspects of culture, found in all cultures about which there is adequate information (Murdock 1945:124).¹ Simple athletic sports, such as chasing and wrestling, seem to be carryovers from the social play of young primates; it is easy to understand their universality. Games may be more complex phenomena and more remote from bodily activities, as are checkers or chess. Both sports and games involve traditional rules,

¹ According to Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962:169), there are some societies, such as the Murngin of Australia, that do not have games. There may be gaps in the ethnographic reporting on such societies, although the authors report "complete information" for the Murngin.



Chinese children playing ping pong in a commune near Canton. Alice Grossman/*The Picture Cube*

unlike the spontaneous play of children who are involved in a world of make-believe.

Johan Huizinga, who has discussed the importance of play in the development of human culture, describes some of the characteristics of play as follows (1955:13):

We might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life as being "not serious," but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it.

Huizinga does not distinguish among play, sports, and games. He regards play (or a game) as having a definite beginning and end and as taking place within a circumscribed area. For Huizinga, the play-area boundary forms a magic circle within which a different order of reality exists and special rules apply. The squares for marbles or hopscotch, the tennis court, and the chessboard all have their separate kinds of order.

Games

Societies differ not only in the kinds of games that are played but also in the degree of involvement in games. Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959) and Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) define games as recreational activities characterized by organized play, competition between two or more sides with agreed-upon rules and criteria for determining the

winner. In these respects, games are distinguished from unorganized "amusements," such as swimming or making string figures. The authors subdivide games into three main types: (1) physical skill (races, boxing, hockey), (2) strategy (chess, checkers), and (3) chance (dice, roulette). Games of physical skill may be subdivided into those in which physical skill is the only relevant attribute, as in weight lifting, and those in which strategy is also involved, such as fencing or football. Other combinations of types are also possible, but the above are the classifications of games used by the authors in their cross-cultural surveys of games.

In the first study, forty-three societies were rated on the basis of the ethnographic literature as having either low political integration or high political integration and as having games of strategy or not having them. In the statistical analysis it was found that games of strategy tend to be associated with high political integration; they are more apt to be found in societies having complex social organization:

Among the adequately-covered tribes, the four hunting and gathering groups lacked games of strategy, only one out of five fishing groups had such a game, and only one out of three pastoral groups. On the other hand, no truly complex society appears to have lacked them. (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959:601)

We see here an implication of cultural evolution. Games of physical skill are found in societies at all levels of social organization, but games of strategy appear mainly where political integration is more advanced. There may be significance in the fact that symbolism of royalty and relative rank is evident in the king, queen, bishop, knight, and pawn of the strategic game of chess and in the king, queen, and jack of the card deck.

Team Sports

Team sports are so familiar to us in the United States that we might assume that they are universal, but such is not the case. The Olympic Games of the ancient Greeks seem to have emphasized individual athletic competition rather than teams. In Europe before the sixteenth century, there were semiritualistic team games symbolizing the conflict between darkness and light, winter and spring, but these do not seem to have involved much cooperative team play.

In the pre-Columbian New World, team games were widespread, and it seems likely that the idea of team sports was carried to Europe after the discovery of America. Shinny and hockey were played over a wide area in eastern North America; hockey was also played in central Mexico and in the Gran Chaco area of South America. Lacrosse also had a wide distribution in central and eastern North America. But the

Maya ball court,
Zaculeu, Guatemala.
Competitive team
sports were popular in
the New World before
they were known in
Europe. *Milwaukee
Public Museum*



most interesting of American Indian team sports was the rubber ball game, which had a distribution from Arizona in the North, through Mesoamerica and the Circum-Caribbean area to as far south as El Salvador. This game involved something unknown in Europe before the discovery of America: the bouncing rubber ball. The game was played in a ball court flanked by sloping walls. The two opposing teams varied in composition from two or three members to ten or eleven. The rules varied in different parts of Mesoamerica, but in one form the men were not allowed to touch the ball with hands or feet but could bounce it from elbows, knees, or hips, all of which were padded. Points were made when the ball touched the opponents' end zone, but the climax of a game, outscoring all other points, came if a player sent the ball through a vertical stone ring affixed in the center of either side wall. That brought the game to an end and entitled the scorer to collect jewels and clothing from the audience. There was betting for high stakes among the spectators. This was a very violent game in which the participants often died; moreover, the captain of a losing team was sometimes sacrificed to the gods. On the other hand, a winning captain was greatly honored. Religion and sport were closely intermingled in the rubber ball game.

In 1528 Hernando Cortés brought some Aztec ballplayers to the court of Charles V in Spain, where they staged several demonstration games. The use of rubber balls considerably influenced European

sports, and the team principle may also have been copied, leading to the present forms of some of the sports we know today, such as volleyball, soccer, and football. In basketball we also have the idea of sending a ball through a ring or hoop, although the basketball hoop is horizontal and much wider than the narrow, vertical ball court ring (Borhegyi and Borhegyi 1963; T. Stern 1948).

The diffusion of team sports throughout the world in recent years shows how readily they appeal to people of different cultures. Perhaps, on a small scale, they represent a moral equivalent of war, a relatively safe arena for the expression of competition and aggression.

Gambling

Gambling is a widespread activity among the societies of the world, but it is not universal. A. L. Kroeber (1948:552-53) lists among non-gambling peoples the Australian aborigines, Papuo-Melanesians, most Polynesians and Micronesians, and many Indonesians. In the pre-Columbian Americas, most of the northern continent gambled, while most of the southern did not. Gambling takes place in most of Asia, except for some marginal fringes. Nongamblers are found in East Africa, while many tribes in West Africa and the Congo Basin gamble. Kroeber finds no consistent, worldwide correlation of gambling with subsistence economy, wealth system, or type of religion.

Joking

Joking appears on Murdock's list of universals. It is nice to know that people joke in all societies. In some societies there are structured joking relationships, so that a man is expected to joke with persons related to him in a particular way, as in the bawdy badinage that used to take place between cross cousins of opposite sex among the Ojibwa Indians.

There are many theories about the nature of humor and why some things are considered funny, while others are not. The problem is made more difficult by the relativistic nature of humor. What is held to be funny at one time or place may not draw a smile in another. It is often impossible to translate a joke from one language to another, especially, of course, in the case of puns. Well known is the story about how Abraham Lincoln, at a tense moment during the Civil War, took time out to read aloud to the members of his cabinet a passage from the writings of Artemus Ward. The president evidently thought the passage was very funny, and it was probably so regarded by his listeners. Both Stephen Leacock and Max Eastman quote the passage in their

books on humor; as they point out, it is hard to see how anyone could find the passage funny today.

One of the efforts made to explain the nature of humor is Eastman's analysis. He believes that one must be in a playful spirit to perceive something as funny and that anything seen as funny would have an unpleasant aspect if one were *not* in a playful state. A joke, then, contains potentially unpleasant experiences playfully enjoyed. Eastman asks what most jokes have been about through the ages in Western culture, and his answer is: "Mothers-in-law, unpaid bills, drunks, taxes, tramps, corpses, excretory functions, politicians, vermin, bad taste, bad breaks, sexual ineptitudes, pomp, egotism, stinginess and stupidity!" (Eastman 1936:25). It would be interesting to have a cross-cultural survey of humor in different societies to see if such topics form the subject matter of joking in other cultures. Oddly enough, anthropologists have not investigated this question.

Another view of humor, not at odds with Eastman's, would see it as a form of one-upmanship, a way of feeling superior to others. This is true of at least some humor. The ancient Greeks had "dumb peasant" jokes like this one quoted by Stephen Leacock (1935:221): "A peasant, having heard that parrots lived for a hundred years, bought one to see if it was true." Another example is of a peasant who wanted to see if his horse could live without food. A while after he stopped feeding him, the horse died. "Alas," said the peasant, "just as he was learning to live without food, he died." We feel superior to the peasant; so we smile. Similar "Polish" jokes are told today in Milwaukee and other cities that have Polish minorities. (Poles tell them, too.)

Minority groups form the subject matter of much joking in our own society. We have jokes about the irrationality of Irishmen ("Lucky are the parents who have no children"), the stinginess of Scots, and the wiliness of Jews. Such jokes help to reinforce group stereotypes and perhaps make the narrator and hearers feel comfortably superior for a moment. It would be interesting to know whether similar jokes are current in other societies that have minority groups.

Storytelling

In all known societies, people have told stories to one another. Some peoples, such as the nomadic Sirionó of eastern Bolivia, are reported not to tell many stories, but all societies have at least some traditional tales. Such stories are often referred to as *folklore*, although this term is sometimes given a much wider scope to include such matters as costume and dance (Dundes 1965:3).

Storytelling differs from written literature in various ways. The



Bushman story teller, Botswana. The story teller in such a society may be a dramatic actor. *N. R. Farbman, Life Magazine* © *Time, Inc.*

writer does not directly confront an audience. He writes a work that is, or should be, original; and when it is published, it appears in a fixed, usually unalterable form, unless and until it is reprinted with minor corrections or issued in a revised edition. The narrator of a story, on the other hand, faces an audience, even though it may consist of only one or two persons. He is usually not the inventor of the story, and he is often telling a tale that his hearers have heard many times and may know as well as he. Among the Inuit, if a narrator makes a mistake in what should be a perfectly memorized, stylized account, the audience is quick to correct him. In this case, exact repetition is valued, but in some societies there is more room for improvisation and the story may change markedly in character over a period of time. An example is provided by the Italian story of "The Cock and the Mouse," which Frank H. Cushing (1965) told to a group of Zuni Indians. A year later, Cushing revisited the Zuni and heard the story, which had now become transformed and adapted to the Zuni scene and Zuni traditions.

The narrator in a non-Western culture does not simply tell a story; he may also enact it, dramatize it, and even dance it. Moreover,

members of the audience often participate by giving responses, promptings, or encouragement. The more isolated writer does not experience this kind of direct feedback, although he or she may receive comments in reviews and letters from readers.

A classification of folktales has been made by a Finnish folklorist, Antti Aarne, with revisions by Stith Thompson, the latest appearing in 1961 with the title *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*. But these deal with only Indo-European tales: two thousand synopses are given, with a code number for each. Stith Thompson has also compiled a six-volume *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (1955–58), which has worldwide coverage.

Folktales may be combed by ethnologists for historical clues—for evidence of past migrations and contact with other cultures. Tales and motifs may be mapped and their areas of diffusion traced. Some myths and folktales have an almost worldwide distribution. The story of a flood is one example; it is often associated with the motif of a diving animal that brings up some grains of soil from the bottom of the sea, from which the earth is made. Various explanations have been put forth to account for the wide distribution of flood myths. It used to be argued that once there must have been a great flood or several floods, the memory of which has been preserved in the myths. A psychoanalytic view would be that water has an unconscious symbolic meaning for all peoples and, hence, is apt to appear in dreams and become embodied in myths. Flood myths probably diffused from one or more centers, from one society to another.

A widespread but not universal story is the Magic Flight. A hero who is pursued by some kind of ogre magically causes obstacles to form behind himself by throwing three objects in turn: a stone, which causes a mountain to rise; a comb, which creates a forest; and a liquid, which forms a lake or river. This story has probably spread by diffusion, being told in a continuous area from Europe, through northern Asia, to North America.

Otto Rank (1956), Lord Raglan (1937), and Joseph Campbell (1949) have all been struck by certain recurrent themes in the lives of legendary heroes, some of which are as follows. The hero is the son of a king and queen. Before his birth a prophecy is made about him, which leads to an attempt, often initiated by his father, to have him killed. Instead, the child is spirited away and reared by foster parents. When he reaches manhood, the hero goes to his future kingdom, where he wins a victory over the king or else over a giant, dragon, or wild beast. He then marries a princess and becomes king.

Lord Raglan made a list of twenty-two items, including most of the themes just mentioned, together with several others. He then found that twenty of the items applied to the story of Oedipus; twenty to that of Theseus; seventeen to Romulus and Heracles; sixteen to Perseus,

Bellerophon, and King Arthur; and twenty-one to Moses. Other heroes who were scored included Jason, Pelops, Asclepius, Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus, Joseph, Elijah, Siegfried, and Nyikang, a Shilluk hero. Raglan concluded that the lives of the various heroes could not be historical but must reflect a bygone ritual involving birth, initiation, and death. Rank, on the other hand, saw the stories as reflecting the Oedipus complex posited by Freud, in which a young man unconsciously wishes to marry his mother and do away with his father. The area dealt with by Raglan consisted mainly of western Europe and the Near East, but it has been shown that essentially similar hero myths are found in the Far East. Roughly analogous tales are told by the Navaho, where the parallels are less close (Kluckhohn 1965).

Functions of Myths

It was characteristic of Malinowski's functionalist approach that he rejected the effort to find origins of myths and rituals but emphasized, instead, the functions they serve. The most obvious, immediate function of all oral literature is entertainment. People enjoy hearing stories, and the narrator, who becomes the center of attention, gets satisfaction from the telling. But Malinowski pointed out that myths also provide a "charter" of belief, explaining how things came to be as they are. Unacculturated Ojibwa—that is, those not much influenced by modern Western culture—believe that their myths are true, that they are not just entertaining tales. Myths provide an explanation of, and support for, traditional customs and correct behavior. On the other hand, some characters in myths do shocking things that are normally taboo, such as committing murder and incest. There is some inconsistency here, but it can be argued that even these immoral episodes serve useful functions in letting off steam and bringing normally repressed material into the open.

How well does the oral literature of a society reflect its culture? Certainly, it is never a complete mirror image. Folklore is selective; important aspects of the culture may not appear in the narratives at all. For example, the pig, which plays an important role in Melanesian culture, does not figure in Melanesian mythology. W. H. R. Rivers (1968), who drew attention to this fact, suggested that familiar and uniform aspects of culture are less likely to be dealt with in mythology than elements that have some variety and inconstancy. If the moon inspires more mythological elaboration than the sun, that is because it undergoes more changes of appearance, while the sun, especially in tropical countries, is much the same from day to day, year after year.

But the element of variety is not enough, in itself, to account for the presence of an item in folklore. Among the Clackamas Chinook Indians, there was much interest in girls' puberty ceremonies, marriage

negotiations, sorcery, and shamanistic cures, but there were few stories dealing with these topics. Melville Jacobs (1959:130) has explained this by saying that these were conscious concerns that were much discussed and also resolved in ritual performances. It was the repressed tensions that became expressed in Clackamas Chinook mythology, including tensions about women, in-laws, and other relatives.

Some Approaches to the Study of Folktales

One approach to the study of folktales is the intensive study of the oral literature of a single society, noting its recurrent themes and special emphases and seeing how they differ, if they do, from those of other societies. Some examples of this approach will be given in the Windows on Three Cultures VI section.

Another approach to the study of folktales is the cross-cultural survey method, making use of the ethnographic data in the Human Relations Area Files (see page 32), applying scoring systems, and looking for statistical correlations. For example, the folktales of a number of societies may be scored for the degree of achievement motivation (*n* achievement) evidenced in the tales. Then one can see whether there is any correlation between *n* achievement and certain features in the child-training patterns in the societies selected for investigation (McClelland and Friedman 1952; Child, Storm, and Veroff 1958).

The foregoing approaches involve analyses of *themes*. Studies have also been made of the *structure* of folktales. A Russian folklorist, Vladimir Propp, claimed that most Russian fairy tales follow a standard pattern, divided into a series of what he called *functions*, or components of the tale. Propp (1968) has listed these functions and provided a brief definition and a conventional sign for each, so it is possible to diagram the structure of a folktale with his symbols.

Since some European fairy tales are similar to Russian ones, it would be possible to apply Propp's system to them but not to most other bodies of folklore, which have different structures.

A structural analysis has been applied to Cinderella stories of Northwest Coast Indian tribes, which have been compared to European Cinderella tales. Betty Uchitelle Randall (1949) distinguishes four basic steps common to both Old World and New World Cinderella tales: (1) *The need for change*: recognition of an inferior status or situation by a mistreated stepdaughter or younger son. (2) *The reason for change*: the behavior of others—rejection, abandonment—makes the situation worse. (3) *The process of change*: the means by which the hero or heroine attains the goal. (4) *The result of change*: the fulfillment of the goal. (5) Sometimes added is a fifth step, *Retribution*: punishment of those who made the hero or heroine suffer. This last

step is more common in European than in American Indian stories, since an ethical dualism of good and bad is prominent in European but not in Indian tales. Another contrast is that the emotions of the hero are given full expression in the Indian stories, while the Cinderella of the Grimms expresses no feelings. The only outspoken emotion in the story is the hatred of the wicked stepmother.

The most ambitious attempt to analyze folklore in recent years is the four-volume *Mythologiques* of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Whereas Propp's structural approach has been called *syntagmatic* (that is, concerned with the linear sequence of episodes, as in the analysis of a sentence's syntax), Lévi-Strauss's approach has been termed *paradigmatic*, in search of patterns. Lévi-Strauss always looks for binary oppositions that he assumes underlie myths, such as the contrasts of raw and cooked, nature and culture. He claims that the function of a myth is to provide a resolution or mediation of a conflict.

Drawing and Painting among Apes in Captivity

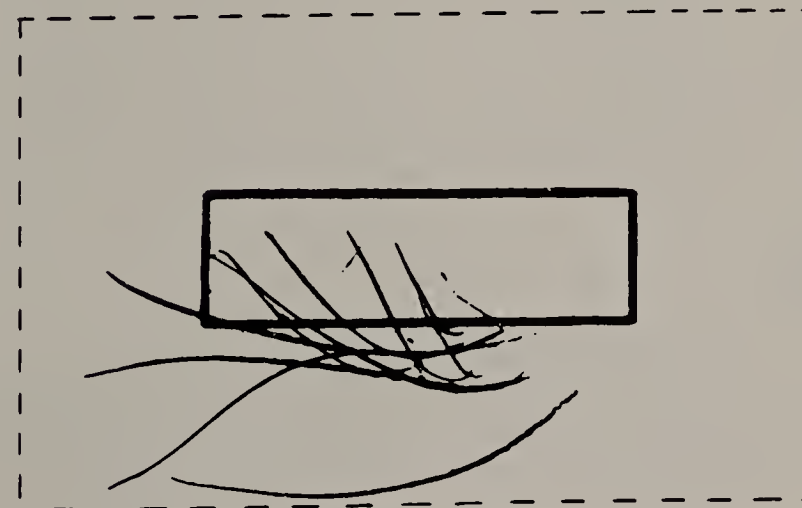
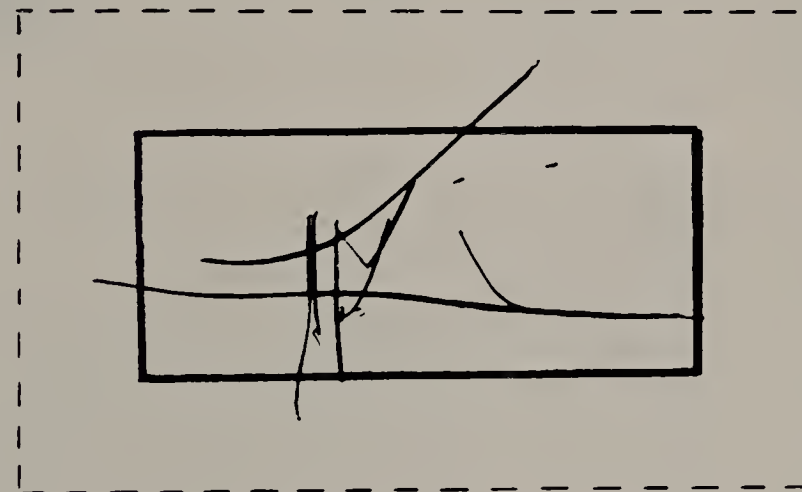
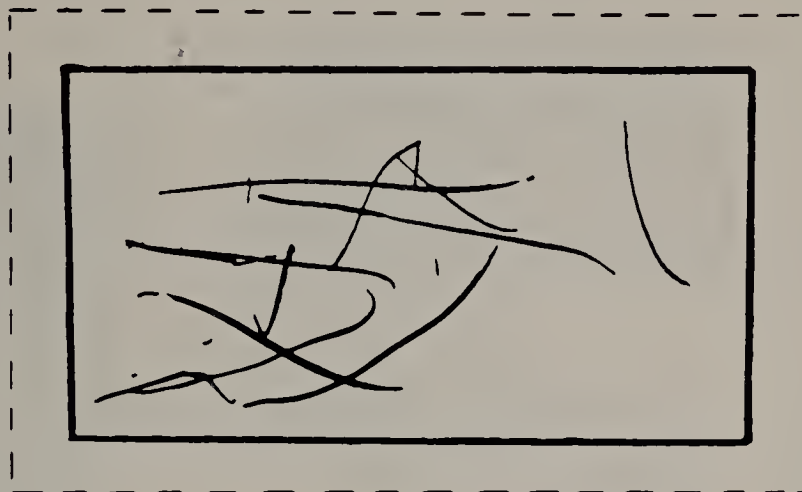
Dancing, music, and decorative art are all listed in Murdock's catalog of universal aspects of culture (1945:124). Adumbrations of such activities may be seen in some of the behavior of nonhuman primates, particularly among chimpanzees. Pleasure in rhythmic movement and rhythmic sound must be a heritage from a prehomimid level.

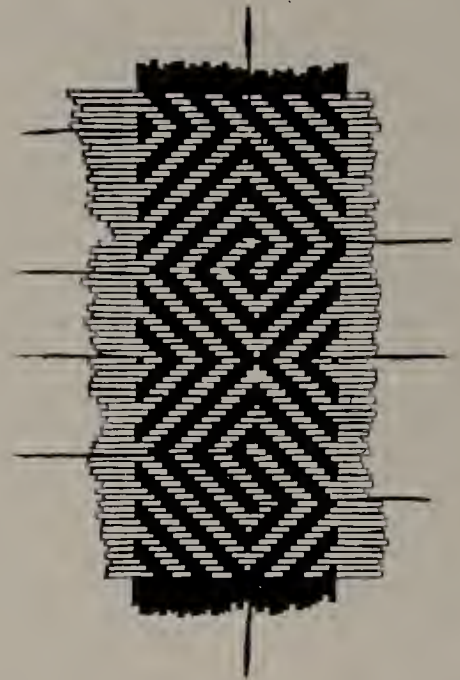
Nonhuman primates do not seem to produce decorative art; its universality may thus be somewhat less understandable than that of dancing and music. But it is interesting that some apes and monkeys in captivity have learned to scribble with pencil on paper and to make finger paintings and paint with a brush. When an ape is given a pencil and makes a mark with it, he is very interested in seeing what he has produced and he continues to make marks. These scribbles are not purely random; they are, first of all, confined to the page and seldom spill over. Desmond Morris presented his chimpanzee subject, Congo, with a sheet of paper on which a large rectangle had been drawn, leaving a one-inch margin; Congo's scribbles remained within this rectangle. Alpha, a young female chimpanzee, always marked the four corners of a blank sheet of paper before scribbling in the center; but she ignored the corners if there was a square, circle, or other form on the page. In such cases, she placed almost all of her marks within the square or circle, with only a few spots outside. If the square or circle was small, she scribbled over it instead of within. If there was a small, solid figure on the page in an off-center position, Alpha did not mark it but scribbled in the open space in such a way as to balance the figure. Congo did the same. These apes had their individual differences. Congo did not mark all four corners as Alpha did, and he favored a

A chimpanzee's reaction to rectangles.

Top: Where the rectangle is large and there is a one-inch margin, all marks are made within the rectangle and none in the one-inch margin. *Center and bottom:* Where the rectangles are smaller and the margins larger, some markings are made outside the rectangle (*center*) and markings are made under rather than inside the rectangle (*bottom*).

From Desmond Morris, The Biology of Art (London: Methuen, 1962)





Greek key designs.
Left, two pieces of mammoth ivory from the Ukraine, about fifteen thousand years old, engraved with Greek key design.
Right, a Greek key pattern in matwork made by Indians of the Rio Branco in northwestern Brazil.
Courtesy of Gene Weltfish

fan-shaped type of composition that Alpha did not produce, although other primates have done so.

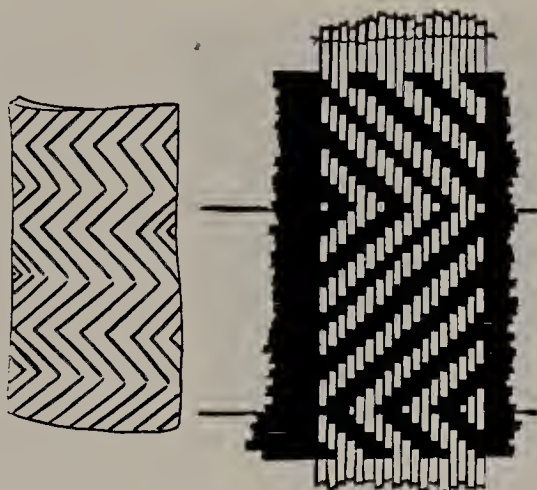
A striking aspect of ape art production is the intense interest and motivation shown by the ape while drawing or painting. This work was not rewarded by food or other awards; it was done for its own sake. Indeed, food was ignored at such times. An interruption could cause a temper tantrum. A female chimpanzee, interrupted in the middle of a drawing, bit her keeper, although she did not usually do such a thing, even when the keeper took attractive food away from her. Congo's drawing sessions usually lasted between fifteen and thirty minutes, with between five and ten drawings being produced at each session, but on one occasion he worked without stopping for nearly an hour and turned out twenty-three drawings and paintings.

If decorative art is a universal feature of human cultures, it may be that a feeling for balance, symmetry, and rhythm was inherited from our prehuman ancestors (Morris 1962).

Design Forms

The feeling for balance and regularity may find expression in designs characterized by bilateral symmetry. Franz Boas pointed out that such designs are found even in the simplest forms of decorative art, including Paleolithic geometric figures and the body paintings of Andaman Islanders and of natives in Tierra del Fuego. Perhaps the stress on

Zigzag herringbone designs. *Left*, engraved mammoth ivory from the Ukraine, probably fifteen thousand years old. *Right*, woven textile made by Bakairi Indians of the Amazon jungle. *Courtesy of Gene Weltfish*



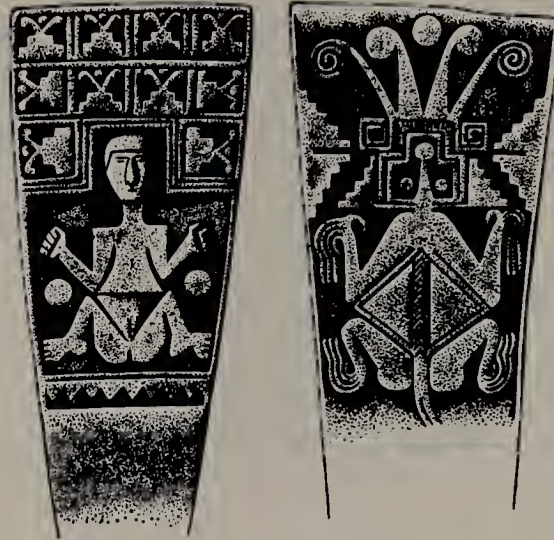
bilateral symmetry is ultimately based on the bilateral symmetry of the human body itself. Boas (1955:33) suggested that the sensation of the motions of right and left might lead to the feeling of symmetry. At any rate, such patterning is widespread in the decorative arts of the world.

Rhythmic repetition is another fundamental aspect of design. We see it in the regular flaking of a Solutrean flint blade and in the adzing of a Haida canoe, where the adze marks were purposely left unsmoothed for the sake of their texture and patterned effect. Rhythmic repetition often appears in the decoration of pottery, baskets, and textiles.

In some cases, particular design patterns have been imposed or suggested by a process of manufacture. Checkerwork basketry presents a chessboard pattern, especially if the two sets of interlacing strands have different colors or shades. Twilling produces diagonal strips, which may also be combined into diamond forms. The coiling of a basket may suggest a spiral (Lowie 1940:182).

A design form known as the Greek key, fret, or meander, has a very wide distribution, partly because of its association with a particular weaving technique. Its oldest known appearance is on an engraving on mammoth ivory from a site in the Ukraine dating from about fifteen thousand years ago. On a second piece of such ivory a zigzag herringbone design was engraved. Gene Weltfish has shown that both of these designs develop naturally from the twill-plaited weaving of basketry and matting, such as is made by some Amazon Indians today. On this basis, Weltfish argues convincingly that this weaving technique must have been known fifteen thousand years ago.

Once a design like the Greek key has come into circulation, it may be transferred from one medium to another, as seems to have been the case in the mammoth-ivory engravings. It may also be diffused from one society to another.



Top, two hockers carved on stone slabs, Ecuador. Bottom left, hocker from Dyak woodcarving, Borneo. Below right, clay stamp from Guerrero, Mexico. Bottom right, painted pottery from Puerto Rico. From Miguel Covarrubias, *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent: Indian Art of the Americas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954), © by Miguel Covarrubias. Reprinted by permission.



The Diffusion of Art Motifs

Like folklore motifs, design forms can be mapped, and efforts may be made to trace their diffusion. It seems likely that designs that have been imposed or suggested by processes of manufacture have appeared independently in many different times and places. The same is probably true of relatively simple forms, such as crosses, spirals, and swastikas. However, when design motifs become more complex and when their component parts do not seem to be obviously related to one another, the possibility of diffusion presents itself whenever similar motifs appear in different culture areas.

Trans-Pacific diffusionists, who believe that much of the advanced culture in the New World was affected by Asian influence, base much of their argument on the similarities of design motifs in Asia and the Americas. Consider, for example, what has been called the *hocker* motif: a figure with bent arms and legs extended on either side of the body, with dots or disks appearing between the knees and elbows. Similar figures appear in Shang or early Chou China; in Malaysia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, and on the Northwest Coast of North America. In some of these figures, eyes and faces appear on the joints and hands. This pattern is found on the Northwest Coast, in Aztec reliefs, in the Mississippi Basin, and in parts of Melanesia.

There are many parallel features in the architecture of Mexico, Guatemala, India, Java, and Indochina, including pyramids with stairways and sometimes serpent columns and balustrades. Serpent balustrades appear in Chichén Itzá of the Mexican period and at Tula in Mexico; they are also found in the Borobodur in Indonesia. Not all anthropologists would agree that these features diffused across the Pacific; many would insist that the similarities are simply due to independent invention in the two hemispheres.

Music

Music is an expressive form of communication found in all societies. Like decorative and plastic art, music is culturally patterned and differs from one society to another. Just as it is often difficult (despite the influence of Picasso and modern art) for an American to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of an African statue or a Melanesian mask, it is also difficult to enjoy the music of a Chinese opera as much as we enjoy more familiar Western music. In all societies there are traditions about the patterns of art production with which persons are familiar from an early age. The symbolic meanings attached to particular aspects of art in one society may not be at all understood in another. This was shown in an experiment undertaken by Robert Morey (1940). Pieces by Schubert, Handel, and Wagner that were meant to express such emotions as fear, reverence, rage, and love were played to members of a Liberian tribe, who did not make the emotional associations one would expect of a European or American audience.

This does not mean that we cannot enjoy styles of music other than our own. Some styles are sufficiently similar to our own to be easy to assimilate. Music developed by New World Negroes is said to represent a syncretism or blending of African and European-American music. According to Richard A. Waterman (1952), this syncretism was made possible by the similarity between African and European music. But

European music is quite different from North American Indian music, making syncretism more difficult. Alan P. Merriam, who has studied music among the Flathead Indians of Montana, writes that a Flathead child may learn to play the clarinet in a marching band at school, while at the same time he is learning traditional Indian music at home. Here the result is not syncretism but compartmentalization. The two kinds of music are kept separate for different occasions. Aspects of the traditional music do not appear in a Western performance, nor are aspects of European music introduced into an American Indian performance (Merriam 1964). Of course, some syncretism may develop in time, but it has not done so yet.

Persons who are familiar with a particular style of music may feel a heightened sense of solidarity when they either perform together or collectively listen to music they enjoy, as in the case of a hymn-singing church congregation or a large audience of young Americans at a rock festival. Such occasions may be very important in some societies, as they were among the Plains Indians. It has been estimated that about a third or more of a Ponca's year was devoted to preparing for or participating in dancing and ceremonial activity that involved music (Howard and Kurath 1959:1).

Cultures vary widely in the number and kinds of musical instruments present. Musical instruments have been divided into idiophones (rattles, marimbas, gongs, bells), membranophones (skin instruments, such as drums), cordophones (stringed instruments), and aerophones (wind instruments). Rhythmic instruments such as rattles and drums seem to be the oldest, judging by their wide distribution and their presence among many hunting-gathering societies, but flutes are also ancient and widespread. Stringed instruments are more limited in their distribution; they did not occur in pre-Columbian America.

Integration of the Arts

Fine museum displays and beautifully illustrated books have made people familiar in recent years with some of the arts of non-Western societies. At the same time, the influence of abstract and expressionist art has, to some extent, modified earlier aesthetic attitudes and made it possible for many people to see beauty in African sculptures and other artworks that they might formerly have dismissed as barbarous and grotesque. Non-Western art has thus become more acceptable and familiar. However, the contexts in which we see African masks, Kwakiutl shamans' rattles, and other such objects are very different from those in which they once functioned. We see them atomistically arranged on a wall, in a display case, or on the pages of a book. They have been re-created as something new in their new setting. While it is



Balinese play scene.
The figure in the
gateway is Rangda,
Queen of the Witches,
whom the men attack
with their daggers
but cannot kill.
Victor Barnouw

good that we can appreciate these objects, it is worth keeping in mind that they are quite removed from the world in which they once had a very different function and significance.

The arts are often interrelated and integrated. Consider, for example, a Kwakiutl winter ceremonial, held at night in a huge, dark, gable-roofed, plank-walled house in the light of a crackling fire. Architecture, costumes, masks, music, singing, dancing, pageantry, and oral literature were all combined on such occasions. The costumes were magnificent, including dark mantles of Hudson's Bay blankets bordered with scarlet flannel and sewn with buttons or dentalium shells. The masks, beautifully carved and painted, represented the spirits that were believed to possess the dancers. Some of the masks were huge composite structures with movable parts operated by weights, pulleys, and strings, so that beaks could snap and bite or so that the mask could split in two and widen to display another mask within. The bodies of the dancers were often hidden under long fringes of cedar bark. These impressive figures danced about the flickering fire to the accompaniment of singing. The men who did this dancing, acting, and singing were also the carvers of the masks. Although some artists were known to be outstanding, most men did some carving. This widespread

familiarity with the arts made possible a high level of sophistication and art criticism that maintained or raised local standards.

Similarly impressive are the masked dances of the Zuni Shalako ceremony, where, again, there is a combination of impressive setting, colorful costumes, ingenious masks, and well-rehearsed dancing.

One more example of integration in the arts is the Balinese drama, usually enacted in front of an elaborately carved temple with magnificently costumed players, some of whom may be masked, to the accompaniment of a *gamelan* orchestra. The performances are done with such professional skill that it is hard to remember that these dancers, actors, and musicians are peasant farmers who spend much of the day in their rice fields and who meet at night to rehearse and perform their dazzling dramas. The travelers from Europe and the United States who witness such performances realize what we may have lost, in our modern world, in the course of economic specialization and industrial progress.

The Artist in Social Context

In modern industrial society the artist is often considered to be an aberrant individual who may be highly talented but who is somehow set apart from the more practical world of the majority. This is not the case in many non-Western societies, where the practice of art is not held to be either deviant or limited to talented persons. The Anang of Nigeria believe that all people are equal in their innate artistic potentialities; ability is simply a matter of training and practice. "Once an individual commits himself to this occupation by paying the fee and participating in a religious ritual, he almost never fails to develop the skills which will enable him to enjoy success as a professional" (Messenger 1958:22). This applies to all the arts among the Anang: carving, dancing, singing, and weaving.

In such a society a person does not create art for the purpose of self-expression or aesthetic satisfaction alone. The work is more apt to be intended for some general social purpose, such as ceremonial activity, and the artist may work in collaboration with others, so that the finished object is the work of several persons. Since so many people are producers of artwork in such a society, there are commonly shared standards of craftsmanship and there are apt to be expressions of criticism or admiration of particular products, which help to maintain or improve the level of artistic production.

In some societies where high standards of workmanship prevail, there may be some specialization. Although carving techniques were generally known on the Northwest Coast of North America, some men specialized in carving and were held to be better at it than others. But

they engaged in hunting and fishing and other everyday activities like anyone else.⁸

In Bali, where everyone seems to be an artist, according to the gifted artist and ethnographer Miguel Covarrubias (1937:163), wealth and fame were not important considerations. "The artist in Bali is essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community." There are constant demands on artists in Bali, since the soft sandstone used in temple sculpture crumbles after a few years and the sculpture must be renewed. The same is true of wooden sculpture, often eaten by ants, while paper and cloth rot from the humidity.

The motives that lead people to engage in art are various. A distinction should first be made between the process of art production and contemplation of the finished product. We have seen how intent and absorbed chimpanzees are when engaged in drawing and painting, but they seem to have little interest in the work of art when it is done. They do not try to hoard it or put it up on the wall. Instead, they may crumple it up or try to eat it. At the opposite extreme are modern collectors of art who do nothing whatever to produce an object d'art but who are proud and pleased to have artworks on display in their homes.

Part of the motivation for engaging in art production is the sense of mastery and control, the satisfaction of successfully coping with a challenge. Even when making an arrowhead, basket, or pot, the workman is usually not satisfied with a product that simply does the job. He wants it, of course, to be utilitarian, but he is apt to lavish more attention on the object than purely utilitarian considerations would demand. Vanity and prestige may also motivate art production. Painting the face and body, tattooing, scarification, and elaborate head-dress, ornaments, and clothing all draw attention to the self, and so do special clubs, maces, stools, and other objects that may be the prerogatives of kings, chiefs, or other persons of high status. Another motivation in art production has been in connection with religion, in the search for security. Masks that represent the ancestors or the gods must be well made to ensure supernatural aid. Shrines or temples are beautified to enhance the holiness of the place. There is also the pleasure of being surrounded by beautiful things, as in the decoration of a home, its embellishment with objects of beauty. Finally, there is patronage, artwork done upon commission for a king or wealthy person, who may thus employ several artists.

Societies like the Kwakiutl and the Balinese represent a high level of art production and keen interest in the arts. Not all societies reach such high levels of aesthetic interest. Although the arts are universal, there is much more art in some societies than in others. In some societies, certain fields of artistic expression remain unexplored. The

Ona of Tierra del Fuego did not model or carve, although they did paint their bodies and perform elaborate dances. The California seed gatherers made no pottery, but they produced very beautiful, intricately woven baskets. These variations may sometimes be due to the level of technology of the society or to the presence or absence of certain materials or resources in the local environment, but such explanations do not always apply. It still remains a problem why artistic expression is much more developed in some societies than others.

Summary

Most of the pleasures of life discussed in this chapter are enjoyed in all known cultures: eating, sex, athletic sports, games, joking, storytelling, decorative art, and music. Societies differ, however, in the emphasis given to these enjoyments. Some societies have much more varied menus or a greater development of the arts than others. Games, stories, music, and art motifs may diffuse from one society to another, which is an important source of cultural enrichment. For example, Europe does not seem to have had team sports before the rubber ball game was introduced from the New World. But the members of a society can accept only what is congenial and sufficiently familiar to be acceptable; hence, many Americans find difficulty in appreciating African masks or Chinese music.

Although the artist is often considered to be an aberrant or unusual person in our society, that is not the case in many non-Western societies where the artists work with others in a social enterprise. They are often anonymous creators, who expect no lasting fame for their contributions.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A good, brief introduction to the field of folklore is Alan Dundes, "Oral Literature," in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Methods of the Science of Man*, ed. James A. Clifton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 117-29.

A classic work is Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: Dryden Press, 1946).

Valuable for providing insight into the historical development of approaches to oral literature is Robert A. Georges, ed., *Studies on Mythology* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968). It contains articles by Boas, Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, Benedict, Kluckhohn, Firth, Leach, and Lévi-Strauss. Two other anthologies are also recommended: Alan Dundes, ed., *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965); and John Middleton, ed., *Myth*

and Cosmos: Readings in Mythology and Symbolism (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1967).

Recurrent themes in Wisconsin Chippewa folklore are discussed in Victor Barnouw, *Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales and Their Relation to Chippewa Life* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

A good brief introduction to the cross-cultural study of art is provided by Erna Gunther, "Art in the Life of Primitive Peoples," in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Methods of the Science of Man*, ed. James A. Clifton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 76-114. Another is Ruth Bunzel, "Art," in *General Anthropology*, ed. Franz Boas (Boston and New York: D. C. Heath, 1938), pp. 535-88.

A classic work is Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955). (First published in 1927.) See also Paul S. Wingert, *Primitive Art: Its Traditions and Styles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); and Gene Weltfish, *The Origins of Art* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953).

For ethnomusicology, see Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964).



Windows on Three Cultures VI

The Inuit

Boas claims that poetry and music are by far the most prominent of the arts among the Inuit. Poetry, music, storytelling, and dancing are all interrelated. Sedna tales are recitatives, many of which start with a musical phrase. Boas give an example of a poem with a marked rhythm:



He adds: "The Eskimo reciting this song jump up and down and to the right and left with their legs bent and their hands hanging down, the palms touching each other. In crying aq! aq! they jump as high as possible" (Boas 1888:649).

Almost every man, says Boas, has his own tune and his own song, some of which become popular, like "hits" in the United States. Rasmussen (1931:16) states: "Song seemed to be indispensable to these people. They sing at all times of the day. The women not only hum their husbands' songs, but some of them are of their own fashioning."

The importance of singing and dancing for the Inuit is indicated by Jenness's observation that one of the first actions taken by an Inuit

group when setting up its winter quarters is the construction of a dance house (Jenness 1922:112). Rasmussen writes: "I have been present at song festivals lasting for 14 to 16 hours, which shows what song means to these people." He describes the Inuit as "working themselves up collectively into an ecstasy which makes them forget all else" (Rasmussen 1929:230).

Singing is accompanied by use of the hand drum. Almost all songs are dancing songs, which Jenness tells us are divided into two classes, the *aton* and the *pisik*. "A *pisik* is sung when the dancer himself wields the drum, an *aton* when the drum is either dispensed with altogether or is beaten by someone in the ring, the audience sustaining the song while the dancer executes a kind of jig in the centre" (Jenness 1922:223). The Inuit wear their very best clothes in the dance house, including their gloves.

Most Inuit entertainments take place in winter, when there is a need to break the monotony of the long nights. Some games, such as hoop-and-pole and cat's cradle, are only allowed during this season. Most wrestling also takes place during winter (Jenness 1922:218). Children have their own games, including a kind of tag and hide-and-seek. Cup and ball is played by people of all ages.

Women make the finely tailored clothing of fur and skin that enables the Inuit to live in the Arctic and that is often designed with an eye to aesthetic effect, "ornamented with colored bands and insertions, fringes and appendages of various kinds, to wear in the dance-house on ceremonial occasions" (Jenness 1922:237).

Men make carvings and engravings in walrus ivory. Their favorite subject is the animals they hunt, often depicted with keenly observed realism. Freuchen (1961:119) writes: "A father . . . rarely had a leisure hour with his family in which he didn't take out his knife and carve out of bone or wood dolls for the girls and animal figures for the boys." Inuit art is small-scale, as befits a nomadic people who cannot be burdened with possessions. Most Eskimo masks are from Alaska, not from the central area.

Recurrent Themes in Inuit Folklore

Many Inuit stories are tales of achievement. About one-third of Eskimo folklore deals with a hero who overcomes obstacles. About half of these tales are about a poor orphan boy who finally gets the upper hand over his enemies (Lantis 1953:156). Individual achievement is stressed rather than group cooperative effort, as in Hopi folklore.

Related to the orphan boy stories is the theme of nemesis: those who mistreat others are bound to suffer in the end. Hence, some of the oral literature has a didactic, ethical function as well as providing entertainment.

Windows on Three Cultures V presented the story of Sedna, the woman who sits at the bottom of the sea and controls the movements of the sea mammals that came into being when the segments of her fingers were chopped off. This woman is sometimes called by a name that means Meat Dish, since she is the ultimate source of the Inuit's principal food. In some versions of the Sedna myth, she is said to be living with her father at the bottom of the sea. Sedna is large and tall, but her father, who is crippled, with only one arm, is no larger than a ten-year-old boy. In some versions, Sedna is said to have been blinded in one eye by her father. She has, of course, no fingers, and she can barely move. As a nutritive Meat Dish and in her large size, Sedna seems to be a Magna Mater figure, although she is not always generous and nurturant.

According to Rasmussen (1929:66, 98), Sedna's father is described as being habitually ill tempered. After death, people who have committed sexual sins have to pay penance by living in his place for one year or more before they can go on to the land of the dead. They have to lie beside him and let themselves be pinched or beaten by him. If they have committed bestiality, Sedna's father strikes them continually on the genitals for a year or more. According to Boas, who describes him in more favorable terms, Sedna's father is called "the man with something to cut (with a knife)" (Boas 1888:583ff.).

This suggests fear of castration; note, too, that Sedna's fingers have been chopped off and that her father has only one arm. If this interpretation seems fanciful, consider another prominent female supernatural being, the woman who lives in the moon. She is called "the one with the *ulo*," a knife used by women. When men visit the moon, she tries to make them laugh by dancing in a ludicrous, sensual manner. If a man so much as smiles, she immediately slits his belly, tears out his entrails, and dumps them into a dish. Behind her hover a crowd of pale men whom she has disemboweled but who laugh at everything she does (Rasmussen 1929:76).

Here we have two instances of supernatural beings with knives. In an analysis of the folklore of the Nunivak Island Eskimos, far to the west, Margaret Lantis (1953:131) noted that the most frequently mentioned physical dangers were cutting or stabbing, biting, and eating. When supernaturals are involved, it is the spirits who cut and bite the protagonist, not the other way around. Among the Inuit, however, human beings may stab supernaturals. The harpooning of Sedna by a shaman was described earlier. Of course, the Inuit are always using knives to cut up the animals upon which they depend for food. Inuit have sometimes expressed guilt about living at the expense of animals, which they believe have souls, just as humans do. The fear of cutting may thus represent fear of retaliation. But a sexual element may also be involved. The woman in the moon disembowels a man only when

she has forced him to laugh or smile. There is one other reference to a taboo on smiling among the Inuit. This occurs at a festival, described by Rasmussen (1929:241-43), at which men and women are paired for sexual relations. Two masked figures preside, one a woman with a snow-beating stick, the other a man with a huge artificial penis. Each paired couple has to pass by these masked beings who make all kinds of grotesque, lascivious gestures, trying to make them laugh. The couples have to keep their faces set and stiff, while the onlookers roar with laughter and try to get them to smile. Perhaps the taboo has something to do with the close quarters in which Inuit sleep, sharing a sleeping platform, huddled close together. The same close proximity may also provide temptation for incest, which might in turn lead to castration anxiety.

Rasmussen (1929:300-301) tells one incest story about some women whose husbands had been murdered and who lived alone with their little sons, whom they carried in their *amauts*, the hoods in the back of their jackets. The women had such a need for men that they had sexual relations with their sons. As a result, the latter never grew. The women did the hunting but were instructed by their sons from the *amauts*. Another fearsome female supernatural being is the *Amaut* witch, a great ogress whose *amaut* is filled with old, rotten seaweed and the human beings whom she has captured (Rasmussen 1929:212).

Inuit folklore seems to express a bias against women. Sedna, the moon woman, and the *Amaut* witch are all rather unpleasant. So is Sedna's father, of course, but the moon woman is paired with a moon man who has benevolent traits. He helps young men hunt and protects those who die in accidents or commit suicide. If a woman is barren, she lets the light of the full moon shine on her bare lap, and he thus helps her have children. The moon man warns people about the moon woman and turns her out of his house when she tries to do harm (Rasmussen 1929:76). It will be recalled that when men fail to kill seals, it is not their fault but the fault of women who have broken taboos. Women, then, seem to be seen as dangerous troublemakers.

The Caribou Eskimos have a story about a man named Kivioq who was carried out to sea on the ice and reached a strange land, where he met an old woman and her daughter. He married the girl, but one day, while he was out hunting, the old woman killed and flayed her daughter and pulled her daughter's skin over herself. This disguise did not fool Kivioq when he returned, for he could see the black, wrinkled legs of the old woman; so he ran away.

The old hag caused obstacles to rise in front of him. First, he came to two bears fighting. He slipped through them. Then there were two hilltops that opened and closed. Although he passed safely between them, the tail of his coat was cut off. Then Kivioq came to a boiling cooking pot, which he also got by.



Elderly Eskimo couple. *Don Rutledge, Black Star*

Freudians might point out that both the cooking pot and the hilltops that open and close sound like vagina symbols. If so, the symbolism becomes more explicit in the next episode, when the road is barred by the huge underpart of a woman. After Kivioq "lay with the thing," he was able to continue. Another obstacle was some sealhide thongs in his path.

Then Kivioq came to the house of an old woman who had a tail made of iron. When he lay down to sleep, he was careful to place a flat stone on his chest. Laughing, the old woman jumped up in the air to land on top of Kivioq and pierce him with her iron tail. But it struck the stone and was driven into her inner parts, and she died.

Kivioq went on from there, cruising in a kayak. A huge mussel shell almost cut him in two, but he escaped, with only the stern of his kayak cut off. He finally managed to return to his own country, and he was so happy to see it again that he sang for joy. His mother said, "That sounds like Kivioq's voice." Then, when his parents caught sight of him, they were so overjoyed that they fell over and died (Rasmussen 1930:97-99).

A remarkable aspect of this story is the applicability of Freudian symbolism, not only in the vagina symbols already referred to but also in the castration motifs. The tail of Kivioq's coat is cut off by the clashing hilltops, and the stern of his kayak is clipped off by the huge mussel shell. Kivioq is in flight from female sexuality; he tries to

return to his parents, but that is forbidden, and they die. More examples could be given of Inuit stories dealing with tension between men and women (Rasmussen 1929:221-22, 287-90; 1921:52-55, 90-92).

The Hopi of Arizona

Dancing and singing are at least as important to the Hopi as they are to the Inuit—perhaps even more so—but Hopi dancing has quite a different character from the more individualistic Inuit dance. It is a collective, carefully rehearsed performance by members of a group who dance for the welfare of the community as part of the willing-praying enterprise of Hopi religion. Ruth Benedict has described Pueblo dancing in these terms: "The dance, like their ritual poetry, is a monotonous compulsion of natural forces by reiteration. The tireless pounding of their feet draws together the mist in the sky and heaps it into the piled rain clouds. It forces out the rain upon the earth. . . . It is the cumulative force of the rhythm, the perfection of forty men moving as one that makes them effective" (Benedict 1934:84-85). Religion, art, and entertainment are not separated here; all are involved at once. Earlier sections on the Hopi have shown how each kiva group carries out its share of the ceremonial cycle. Ideally, each dance should be attended by all members of the Hopi pueblo, who pray and will for the good of all.

The Hopi have more musical instruments than do the Inuit. In addition to drums, they have whistles made of bone, rattles, bull-roarers, flutes with five stops, and a "horse-fiddle," "consisting of a notched stick laid over the open mouth of a pot or a gourd and rasped with a rod" (Murdock 1934:339).

Hopi women make fine basketry and pottery. Coiled and wicker basket trays have elegant designs, and so does the pottery. Laura Thompson points out that Hopi art is purely abstract, in contrast to the realism of Eskimo animal sculpture. Ideas are presented in conventionalized abstract forms. "Furthermore . . . many Hopi works of art, especially pottery and plaque designs, express an unusual type of structural balance. This balance pattern is not based on the principle of symmetry. It is a subtler type of balance between different factors . . . line is balanced against shade, surface quality against color. . . . It is as if, instead of balancing one black square against another, we counterpose a red circle with a black square. . . . Hopi designs often express movement both around in a circle and inward toward the center. That is, the movement tends to be both circular and centripetal" (Thompson 1950:131).

While the women make basketry and pottery, it is the men who do

the weaving. Their looms are set up in the kivas as well as in private homes. Hopi men weave not only blankets but also kilts and sashes for the ceremonial godsons whom they help to initiate and wedding dresses for girls who marry fellow clansmen. Hopi men also make jewelry of turquoise, shell, and stone. They fashion the large masks worn at katchina ceremonies, and they carve katchina dolls, painted with bright colors, from cottonwood. These dolls were formerly given to young girls to play with, but nowadays they are also sold to tourists.

Recurrent Themes in Hopi Folklore

In another work (Barnouw 1977:236-37) I contrasted Wisconsin Chippewa (Ojibwa) myths, the myths of a former hunting-gathering people, with the origin myths of the Hopi and Zuni, both Pueblo tribes. Wisconsin Chippewa origin myths deal with the erratic wanderings of a lone culture hero, Wenebojo, and his encounters with various animals. Although the Chippewa had patrilineal clans, there are no references to clans in these myths. Hopi and Zuni origin myths, on the other hand, deal with the emergence of clan groups from underground and their subsequent migrations. Frank Waters's *Book of the Hopi* contains chapter headings like the following: "Migrations of the Bird Clans," "The Snake and Lizard Clans," "The Bow and Arrowshaft Clans." The collective emphasis in Hopi mythology is striking. As a Tewa-Hopi put it, "In our histories and traditions we don't have individual heroes with names to remember. It is the village, the group, the clan that did this or that, not a man or woman" (Yava 1978:4).

Another contrast between Chippewa and Pueblo myths is the greater role of women in Hopi and Zuni tales, as one might expect in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. In Ruth Benedict's *Zuni Mythology* (1935) there are 41 tales dealing with courtship in a total of 104 stories, in contrast to only a handful of tales about courtship in the Wisconsin Chippewa series.

Hopi origin myths are given in the collections compiled by Stephen (1929), Waters (1963), and Courlander (1971). The Hopi believe that they successively inhabited four worlds. They were ordered to abandon each of the three previous worlds, in turn, by their dissatisfied creator, the Sun God. Part of the difficulty lay in the selfish, uncooperative, and licentious behavior of Two-Hearts, who sowed dissension and failed to carry out the proper religious ceremonies. Their bad example is contrasted with the dedication of the truehearted good Hopi.

In Courlander's account the Sun God sent Spider Grandmother down to the Third World to tell the people that sorcerers were spoiling their world. The good people should therefore leave it and go up through the sky to a Fourth World whose ruler was Masauwu, the spirit of death. But in order to enter the Fourth World, the people first had to pass

through the *sipapuni*, a hole in the sky, the place of emergence. Their problem was how to get up there. Spider Grandmother found the solution. She got a chipmunk to plant a sunflower seed and commanded the people to sing, for their singing would make the plant grow. Although they sang hard, the sunflower didn't make it. The same procedure was then followed with a spruce tree and a pine tree, but neither succeeded. A bamboo was selected next; the people sang louder than ever, and this time the bamboo passed through the *sipapuni*. All of the people then climbed up along the bamboo stalk. Sorcerers and wicked people were warned to stay behind, but one of them, a woman, disobeyed and came along anyway, so there are still Two-Hearts in the world.

There is much more to the story than that, but this brief selection illustrates the collective emphasis, the importance of women for both good and evil—Spider Grandmother and the female sorcerer—and, finally, the germinative power attributed to song. It seems to be an appropriate myth for a horticultural or agricultural society, with the people climbing up on a stalk that breaks through the place of emergence.

Contemporary Japan

Japan has a long tradition of excellence in the arts. Around A.D. 1000, while Europe was going through the Dark Ages, sophisticated ladies at the Heian court in Kyoto were writing long novels, like Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*, and compilations of witty essays, like Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Book*. Four centuries before that, there had been a great influx of new ideas from Korea and China, including not only Buddhism but also the painting, sculpture, temple architecture, and other arts associated with that religion. The Chinese system of writing was also introduced. By the Heian period (794–1185) the Japanese had assimilated these patterns and had begun to shape them into innovative Japanese forms. Lady Murasaki and Sei Shonagon wrote in *kana*, a new Japanese script taken up by the ladies at court, while the male officials stuck to the Chinese ideographic system. The Japanese have always been receptive to new imported forms of art but have usually refashioned them. The Heian period also saw the development of a native style of poetry, called *Yamato-e*, or Japanese style, to distinguish it from *Karae-e*, the Chinese style.

During the Muromachi period (1392–1568) more innovations were brought from China, including the tea ceremony and flower arrangement. The custom of drinking tea was introduced to Japan by Eisai, a monk who also brought Zen Buddhism to Japan. The drinking of tea was turned into a formalized ritual, in which aesthetic appreciation



Japanese tea ceremony. *Japan National Tourist Organization*

was emphasized, particularly in admiring the ceramic ware in which the tea was served. Like flower arrangement, the tea ceremony served to promote the development of pottery in Japan. A cult of rural simplicity surrounded the ceremony; the tea house was a small rustic structure with plain furnishings, although it was apt to contain an alcove with a hanging scroll painting and a flower arrangement. The landscape garden was another development of this period, expressing the same aesthetic tendency. Here too one may note the influence of Zen Buddhism's concern with meditation and closeness to nature.

One of Japan's great painters, Sesshū (1420-1506), was a Zen Buddhist monk who painted the same sort of landscapes that Chinese Sung artists did, but "his emphasis on heavy black lines, his sharp contrasts between light and dark, and his flattening out of space are very different from anything in Chinese painting" (Munsterberg 1974:349).

The Muromachi period saw the development of an indigenous form of drama, *Nō*, characterized by the use of masks, elegant costumes, music, and dance. Although *Nō* plays were still popular during the later Tokugawa period (1603-1868), a new form of theater, *Kabuki*, then came into being. *Kabuki* also had choruses, music, and dancing, but it was more realistic in its action than the *Nō* drama. Another new form of theater was *Bunraku*, which made use of large puppets, two-thirds life size. These types of theater are still popular today.

Wood block prints turned out by such artists as Moronobu, Hokusai, and Hiroshige made works of art in full color available to the public during the Tokugawa period. The merchants of the cities, patrons of

the arts, attended the Kabuki theater and geisha houses, which provided much of the subject matter for these fine artists. Both genre scenes and landscapes were popular. The three-line *haiku* was another innovation of the Tokugawa period.

The impact of Western art and literature was felt during the Meiji period, after 1868, when Japanese began to read English, French, and Russian novels, which have greatly influenced Japanese writers, just as European styles of painting have influenced Japanese artists. But this influence has not been one-way.

The painters of the impressionist and post-impressionist movement were profoundly influenced by the printmakers of the ukiyo-e school. Modern architects, beginning with Frank Lloyd Wright, who freely expressed his indebtedness to traditional Japanese art, were greatly influenced by the domestic architecture of Japan, just as present-day American and European pottery has been influenced by traditional Japanese tea-ware and folk pottery. (Munsterberg 1974:330)

In Japan today, almost every home has a television set; movie houses, bars, and nightclubs are also well attended. But the Japanese are great readers, nevertheless. "The number of books published annually is second only to that in the Soviet Union, and the country far exceeds the United States in the number of new titles and in the total number of copies of books sold each year. Japan ranks high in readership of its newspapers and journals and in almost any other index of national interest in the written word" (Yamagiwa 1965:224). According to Herbert Passin (1960:17), Japan probably has more people than any other nation who can be classified as writers who make all or most of their living from writing.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For good illustrations of Eskimo artwork, see Cottie Burland, *Eskimo Art* (London: Hamlyn, 1973); and Dorothy Jean Ray, *Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in North Alaska* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977). Some Eskimo folklore is collected in Knud Rasmussen, *Eskimo Folk Tales*, trans. W. Worster (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1921). For a recent collection of Alaskan Eskimo folklore, see Edwin S. Hall, Jr., *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Noatak, Alaska* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).

For Hopi art, see Margaret N. White, *Hopi Silver* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1972); and Jon T. Erikson, *Kachinas: An Evolving Hopi Art Form?* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Heard Museum, 1977). For Hopi myths, see Frank Waters, *The Book of the Hopi* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969); and Harold Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971).

For Japanese art, see Bradley Smith, *Japan: A History in Art* (New York:

Simon & Schuster, 1964), a lavishly illustrated volume. For the art of Japanese gardens, see David H. Engel, *Japanese Gardens for Today* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959). Some essays on the popular arts of Japan, including popular songs, children's comics, and movies, are collected in Hidetoshi Kato, ed. and trans., *Japanese Popular Culture* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1960).

Part Eight

Culture Change





15

Some Aspects of Culture Change

Our present age is a time of rapid culture change. The cultures of the world have always undergone alterations, but the tempo of such change has varied in different times and places. When Europeans first landed in Australia, they found people who had no agriculture, weaving, or pottery, no clothing, no bow and arrow. This does not mean that the Australian aborigines experienced no culture change before the coming of Europeans, but, at least in the realm of technology, their hunting-gathering way of life had changed relatively little for thousands of years. An advanced civilization may also have long periods of stability, as was true of Egypt between around 2700 and 1700 B.C. However, change is more likely to take place in a complex society than in a simple one. The more complex a culture is, the more likely it will be to produce innovations, which depend upon combinations of previously existent patterns. Invention of the lost-wax process of casting, for example, was made possible by the prior existence of several inventions (knowledge of the properties of wax, fired clay, and molten metal), just as the development of the atomic bomb depended upon a particular level of knowledge about physics, chemistry, mathematics, and industrial technology. Cultural evolution is cumulative; it has involved an advance through progressively higher plateaus of cultural complexity. The more material there is to work with in the shape of tools, patterns, and ideas, the more possible combinations there are.

Some Pueblo Indian men now commute to work by car from their pueblos to nearby towns.
Elizabeth Hamlin/Stock, Boston



Culture change within a society may be brought about either through internal invention and development or through contact with other societies. New ideas may not only spread through diffusion between two societies, A and B, which are in contact, but also between societies A and E through intervening societies B, C, and D, which may have trade or other relations with one another. A new item, such as the practice of smoking tobacco, may be passed on directly from one society to another, or else there may be stimulus diffusion, in which a foreign notion stimulates the development of a local innovation, as in the case of the invention of a successful Cherokee syllabary by an Indian who was illiterate but grasped the basic *principle* of writing (not the system itself) by watching white men read and write.

The term *acculturation* has been given to phenomena involving culture changes that occur when two formerly distinct cultures come into contact with each other. Relations between societies that have different cultural traditions vary in many respects. One variable concerns the extent to which such societies may be said to be permeable, flexible, and open, rather than rigid and closed. Using such terminology, Homer Barnett and his associates (1954) have suggested that “hard-shelled vertebrate” cultural systems, which have many boundary-maintaining mechanisms and rigid internal structures, may be less susceptible to change in acculturation than “soft-shelled invertebrate” cultural systems, which are more open and flexible.

Societies are apt to be selective in accepting innovations from others.

Ruth Benedict (1934) showed that, although the Hopi, Zuni, and other Pueblo Indians of the Southwest had long been in contact with non-Pueblo tribes, such as the Apache and Navaho, they did not accept from other tribes various cultural patterns that ran counter to their own values, such as the use of drugs, self-torture, or ecstatic religious practices.

Even when an alien culture pattern is accepted by members of a receiving society, they may consciously or unconsciously change the innovation so that it will fit into their own cultural framework.

Integration versus Change

The Hopi and Zuni had highly integrated cultures. If a sufficiently isolated society like that of the Hopi has time to develop an internally consistent way of life, lacking in conflicts and contradictions, we speak of its culture as being *integrated*. This is a relative term, since there are always some internal conflicts in any sociocultural system, but some cultures appear to be more highly integrated than others. This tendency should foster stability; the members of such a society have a similar outlook and a shared set of values.

Contact with another society may serve to jolt a highly integrated society, however, leading either to a change of values or to reaffirmation of traditional ones. In some cases, an integrated culture may break up quickly under the impact of outside forces. This seems to have happened on the small island of Tikopia in western Polynesia, whose population was 1,281 in 1929. There were four clans, each associated with the magical control of aspects of nature. One clan had control over yams, another over taro, a third over breadfruit, and a fourth over coconuts. Each clan was also associated with one of the wind points or directions from which rains and storms came. Elaborate religious rituals involving reciprocal behavior between the clans, headed by their chiefs, who acted as priests, served to promote the growth of crops and the success of fishing expeditions.

Despite all this reciprocity and interdependence, there was also rivalry between the clans and districts of the island, which may have contributed to the breakup of the system. In 1923 the chief of one of the four clans became converted to Christianity and ordered the people of his district to do the same. For about eight months before the conversion there had been a drought and poor crops. Improvement in the weather after the conversion was taken as a sign that the new religion was effective. The defecting clan chief no longer took part in the traditional crop-promoting rituals, leaving a gap in the religious fabric. By 1929 half of the island had become Christian. A final blow to the old system came in 1955, when two hundred people died in an

epidemic, including two of the clan chiefs. One of these was succeeded by a Christian, which left only two non-Christian chiefs. These two chiefs then decided to convert to the new religion, and most of their clan members followed suit. A highly elaborate, integrated religious system thus dissolved within a generation, to be replaced by a foreign one imported by missionaries.¹

Early Learning versus Change

It has been argued that culture patterns learned early in life are more resistant to change than those learned at later age levels. Edward M. Bruner (1956) has made a case for this hypothesis in explaining why the Mandan-Hidatsa Indians have preserved some aspects of their traditional culture (such as the kinship system, role conceptions, and values), while other aspects (such as the age-grade-society system and the religious complex) have disappeared. The former patterns were learned early in life from members of Ego's lineage, while the latter patterns were learned late in life from persons who were not members of Ego's lineage. It would be interesting to see how well this hypothesis is supported in studies of other cultures in contact situations.

Efforts to Resist Change

In some integrated cultures, innovations are resisted because of ideological traditions. On religious grounds, the more conservative members of the Old Order Amish of Pennsylvania will not use such modern contraptions as automobiles, telephones, and radios; they will not even use buttons on their clothes but have hooks and eyes instead.

In some cases, an ideology favoring conservatism affects outsiders. The anthropologist Verrier Elwin (1943) strongly opposed contacts between aboriginal hill tribes in India and the outside world. It was his belief that the hill tribes had a vigorous, creative way of life that would be spoiled by the growing influence of village India. Elwin's campaign to isolate the hill tribes was attacked by Indian nationalists who wanted to develop a unified, modern nation.

Vested interests may oppose culture change, as with the opposition of doctors' organizations to medicare or socialized medicine or the rejection by seventeenth-century theologians of Galileo's assertion that the earth revolved around the sun. Factory workers may oppose automation, which deprives them of jobs.

¹ This process has been traced in detail in a series of books by Raymond Firth, beginning with *We, the Tikopia* (1936).



An Amish gathering in a Pennsylvania town. Note the sexual segregation and the very conservative patterns of dress. *David S. Strickler/The Picture Cube*

Efforts to Induce Change

For ideological reasons, culture change is fostered by certain agents such as the missionaries of proselytizing sects or the members of revolutionary movements. An agriculture extension agent tries to persuade farmers to plant a new type of corn or use a new farming technique.

Culture change in regard to industrialization and modernization is deliberately planned by modern governments, as in the five-year plans of the Soviet Union, India, and other nations. The space program and moon explorations of the United States provide another example. Deliberate planning for change in some aspects is also carried out by modern industrial corporations.

Reform movements are also agents of change. Abolitionism, the movement for women's suffrage, the black-power movement, and anti-war protests are all attempts to bring about changes in public opinion and the laws of the land.

Different segments of the population respond differently to such campaigns and to culture change in general. Being more flexible and less committed to tradition, young people are often more receptive to new alternatives than are older people. According to Everett E. Hagen (1962), members of groups that have lost status are more eager for culture change than are members of the establishment in an agrarian or developing society.

As the world becomes smaller, the technologically advanced societies come into ever closer contact with less advanced ones. When new gadgets such as electric ranges and refrigerators first appear in a new setting, as in New Guinea, it is usually only a small minority of well-to-do, nonnative people who can afford to get them. Feelings of "relative deprivation" consequently develop among the natives, who did not have such feelings before. They may resent and envy the possessors of such goods, the higher standard of living they enjoy, and the attitude of superiority they may express. The sense of relative deprivation may in time lead to the development of nationalistic or revolutionary political movements or to nativistic religious cults, such as the Cargo cults of Melanesia (see page 309). Such developments are followed by changes in culture, involving changes in attitudes and values and feelings of group solidarity. In a survey of activist millenarian movements in different parts of the world, Peter Worsley (1968:225-28) claims that these movements are supported mainly by people who feel themselves to be oppressed and who are divided into separate, isolated social units, especially in stateless societies lacking political centralization. The millenarian cult provides a new unity for such separate groups.

Internal Causes of Change

A distinction may be made between internal and external causes of culture change. The former have to do with human motivation, while the latter concern environmental or situational factors.

Great Man Theory

To emphasize the role of the inventor or innovator is to invoke the internal principle. A man of inventive mind or genius makes a new discovery, which is transmitted to others and thus becomes part of the now-modified culture. This is sometimes called the *great man theory*. A. L. Kroeber and Leslie A. White both criticized this notion by pointing to simultaneous discoveries of the same invention by different men. Their point is that when culture has reached a certain level, some particular inventions are inevitable and will be made sooner or later by somebody. Moreover, to become part of culture, a new invention must be shared with others. A genius may make a discovery that is ahead of his time; if he cannot convey his meaning, it will not be incorporated into the culture. Leonardo da Vinci made sketches of airplanes in his notebooks, but the technology of his age was not ready for further advances in this field; his sketches remained

confined to his notes. It may be that other brilliant men of Leonardo's period made similar sketches and speculations, but nothing could come of them then.

Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz both invented the infinitesimal calculus. Anticipating the views of Kroeber and White, Thomas Babington Macaulay wrote in 1828: "Mathematical science, indeed, had then reached such a point that, if neither of them had ever existed, the principle must inevitably have occurred to some person within a few years" (Macaulay 1877:324).

Gregor Mendel gave two reports on his discoveries in genetics before the Brünn Society for the Study of Natural Science in 1865, and he published a paper on his findings in that society's proceedings in 1866. But Mendel apparently spoke to deaf ears; no attention was given to his work until the simultaneous rediscovery of his principles by three men in 1900: W. O. Focke, Hugo de Vries, and Karl Correns. These cases seem to illustrate the "inevitability" argument.

However, some support for the great man theory has come from Tertius Chandler, who claims that in these cases the men did not work independently. Newton and Leibniz corresponded with each other, and Mendel's work was not altogether forgotten, for Correns knew of it by 1897. Chandler reviews a series of alleged parallel discoveries and in most cases is able to single out an originator who preceded the others. His conclusion (1960:497) is: "Where originality is needed, one man of keen mind is required. If he fail, the job may well stay undone forever." However, it is necessary to remember the point made earlier: a certain level of cultural evolution may be necessary before a society can assimilate a new invention or pattern.

It may be noted that the argument about parallel discoveries is less applicable to the arts than to inventions. Could we say that if Beethoven had not lived, someone else would have written his Fifth Symphony?

Protestant Ethic and Achievement Motivation

Apart from the great man theory, there have been other "internal" explanations for culture change that emphasize the role of motivation. Some examples are Max Weber's notion of the Protestant ethic, David Riesman's theory of inner-direction, and David C. McClelland's concept of achievement motivation.

The sociologist Max Weber noted that the great economic advance in Europe after the Industrial Revolution was associated with Protestant rather than Catholic countries, and he concluded that this was due to the greater Protestant stress on independence, asceticism, and hard work.

David Riesman coined the term *inner-direction* for a means of ensuring conformity in a society undergoing population growth and economic expansion. This is a time of opening frontiers, economic opportunities, and greater individualism than exists in a traditional society with a stable population. Wealth, fame, and achievement are goals toward which people strive through hard work and determination. At a later period, when a modern, industrialized state has developed and population growth has slackened off, a new mode of conformity develops, which Riesman calls *other-direction*. The production system now demands harmonious working within an established organization and a personality that is adaptable to the moods and feelings of others (Riesman 1950).

David C. McClelland's work (1961) is related to the ideas of Weber and Riesman. For McClelland, the Protestant ethic is only a special case of a more general phenomenon, since there are non-Protestant countries, such as modern Japan and the Soviet Union, that lay a similar stress on hard work. McClelland sees the key psychological factor as being a high need for achievement, which he believes precedes economic growth, and he has found some ingenious ways to demonstrate this point. He cites some studies that indicate that parental attitudes in childhood may stimulate a need for achievement by setting high standards while granting autonomy to the children, so that they can work things out for themselves.

Studies in Japan have indicated that personality tendencies analogous to the Protestant ethic, with a high need for achievement, help to account for the remarkable economic development of that nation (Bellah 1957; De Vos 1973).

External Causes of Change

There are various external sources of culture change, such as population increase, wars, and economic dislocation. Only a few examples will be cited here.

Population Increase

Population increase as a "prime mover" forms the basis for various theories about cultural evolution. According to Lewis R. Binford (1968) and Kent V. Flannery (1969), population increase in sedentary Mesolithic communities in the Old World led to a budding off of daughter groups that impinged on surrounding marginal populations. Groups in the marginal zone were forced to adopt the exploitation of a broad spectrum of foods including wild grains and cereals, from which the domestication of plants ultimately developed.



Nigerian surveyor.
*Owen Franken/Stock,
Boston*

According to Ester Boserup (1965), population increase in horticultural societies leads to a shortening of the fallow period and the adoption of more intensive advanced forms of agriculture. As we saw in Chapter 12, population increase in a circumscribed setting provides the basis for Robert L. Carneiro's explanation for the origin of the state.

Economic Dislocation

The Industrial Revolution and its accompanying commercial revolution not only shook up the European nations, where they originated, but were also exported abroad, introducing the standards of a money economy into societies that had not formerly known them. In colonial countries, peasants were under pressure to switch from subsistence farming to cash crops. Toward the end of the eighteenth century in India, the British East India Company demanded that revenue be paid in cash instead of in crops. This forced peasants to turn to cash crops, such as cotton, indigo, and opium, in order to pay their taxes. The rise in rural indebtedness led to a rise of moneylenders and the spread of Marwaris, who specialized in this field, to all parts of India. The hand of the moneylender was strengthened by new laws introduced into the courts, under which land could be attached and sold for nonpayment of revenue, a new state of affairs for the peasant. At the same time, many artisans, such as weavers, were losing their markets, since England imported cheap factory-made goods into India.

In all colonial areas, the world of the peasant was thrown into upheaval. In *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (1969), Eric R.

Wolf documented the similar dislocations, problems, and responses of the peasants in six countries: Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba.

The colonial system also introduced new inventions into these countries, the products of Europe's Industrial Revolution, which, of course brought many more changes. To use India again in illustration: in 1854 a line of telegraphs was installed between Calcutta and Agra; steam navigation on the Ganges River began in 1828; and the first railway started in 1853.

Summary

To summarize some of the points made in this chapter: We have seen that societies vary in rates of culture change. Cultural complexity favors culture change, since the more material there is to work with, the more possible combinations there are. Change may come about either through internal invention or through contact with other societies. Such contact need not be direct but may be mediated through intervening societies.

Societies are apt to be selective in accepting new culture patterns from others. They also often bring about changes in the innovations that are accepted, so that these innovations will be in keeping with the society's particular cultural configuration. A highly integrated culture may resist change. On the other hand, once new patterns are accepted in such a society, culture change may take place rapidly, with factional splits developing in the process. Vested interests and ideological traditions may either resist or encourage such change.

A distinction may be made between internal causes (involving human motivation) and external (environmental) causes of culture change. The great man theory emphasizes the role of the inventor or innovator, while cultural evolutionists of the Leslie White school play down this role by pointing to the frequency of independent parallel inventions. The role of individual motivation is emphasized in such concepts as Weber's Protestant ethic, Riesman's inner-direction, and McClelland's need for achievement. Among the external causes of culture change to which analysts have drawn attention are such factors as population increase and the economic dislocations brought about by the great transformations of the Industrial Revolution and the commercial revolution and by colonialism.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Still a good source for the discussion of culture change is A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948), especially chaps. 9-12. A

work often cited is Homer G. Barnett, *Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953). See also Homer G. Barnett et al., "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954): 973-1002; and Godfrey Wilson and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945).

On cultural evolution, see Leslie A. White, *The Evolution of Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955); and Marvin Harris, *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures* (New York: Random House, 1977).



Applied Anthropology

Except for warfare, the most immediate problem facing the world today is the population explosion. One authority states: "The present rate of world population increase—20 per 1,000—is almost certainly without precedent, and it is hundreds of times greater than the rate that has been the norm for most of man's history" (Coale 1974:51). Our species reached its first billion mark in 1850, its second in 1930, its third in 1960, its fourth in 1976, and its fifth in 1986. This population boom may bring in its train a host of calamities, including widespread famine. The world's population is now doubling within a period of thirty-five years, but the rate is faster in the less developed nations.¹ The population of India may double within fifteen years. In 1981 India's population was about 683,810,000; it adds 13.5 million a year, and may reach one billion by A.D. 2000. China already has a population of about one billion. There have been predictions that 75 percent of the world's population will be living in Africa, Asia, and Latin America by the year 2000.

In former periods, population increased most in the more successful,

¹ In their generally optimistic forecast of the future, Kahn, Brown, and Martel (1976:34, 212) predict that within two hundred years the earth's population will be about fifteen billion, give or take a factor or two, and that this population will be rather stable. For an optimistic view of future food, forest, and mineral resources, see Simon and Kahn 1984.



Famine victim. The Times, London, from Pictorial Parade

expanding economies, but now it is the poor, less developed nations that are seeing the greatest increase. This boom is not due to higher birthrates but, rather, to lower death rates resulting from the introduction of better sanitary and medical practices. Even the introduction and greater use of soap have made a difference, and there has been a drop in malaria and other diseases due to DDT spraying campaigns. Vaccination, inoculation, use of penicillin, and improved medical facilities have led to a reduction in smallpox, typhoid, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, and other ailments, in spite of the low number of doctors in relation to the population in the less developed nations.

Another reason for further population growth in such nations is that nearly half the people in them are under fifteen years of age and will soon have families of their own. In India almost everyone gets married and marries early, and brides have many reproductive years ahead of them. Nowadays, they live longer; in India the expectation of life at birth rose from twenty-three years in 1931 to fifty-one years in 1981.

But while the population of India increased over 50 percent in the last six decades of British rule, cultivable land increased only 1.5 percent.

Today, all of the developing nations urgently seek ways to increase their agricultural resources, their health facilities, and the availability of education. To cope with these problems, many countries have instituted village development programs. For example, in 1951, in its first Five-Year Plan, India launched a Community Development Movement that had multiple aims, including the following: land reclamation and increased irrigation; rural electrification; provision of fertilizers and improved seeds; spreading of agricultural information; introduction of better agricultural implements and practices; provision of marketing and credit facilities; improvement of roads and transportation; increase of education; public health work in sanitation, drainage, waste disposal, control of malaria, and other diseases; and provision of medical care and midwife services.

Much progress has been made along these lines. But observers have often been surprised that agricultural improvements are sometimes not welcomed by farmers, that improved seeds are rejected, and that health facilities are not used. There are many reasons for such failures. Sometimes it is necessary to study the culture of the community in question to understand why a particular project failed. This is one of the roles of the applied anthropologist or action anthropologist. Some anthropologists have specialized in the practical application of their work. In this chapter we will consider some of the contributions of applied anthropology and also of the recently formed field of medical anthropology, which deals with interrelated cultural and biological aspects of disease, ecology, epidemiology, and indigenous treatments of disease in different cultural settings.²

Resistance to Innovations: Improved Seeds

Community development projects often promote the introduction of improved seeds as a way of increasing crop yields. A notable instance is the "green revolution," which galvanized agriculture in parts of Southeast Asia and India during the 1960s and 1970s.

If an agricultural extension worker tries to persuade a group of farmers to use a new type of seed, one might expect that they would be willing to try it, since he is, after all, a man of authority. But farmers are often reluctant to do so. This is true not only of peasants in India or Latin America but also of farmers in Texas, who, in the 1930s, were

² The Society for Applied Anthropology was formed in 1941; it publishes a quarterly journal, *Human Organization*. The Society for Medical Anthropology was founded in 1968.

very disinclined to try the new hybrid corn then being introduced. One farmer jokingly offered to plant some of the new seed if the extension worker would promise to pay the difference in profit if the new seed produced less than the old. The extension worker decided to take the chance; so half of a field was planted with the old seed and half with the new. The hybrid variety was drought-resistant, and during that summer there was little rain. The old seed thus fared poorly, while the hybrid corn grew up bright green. All the farmers round about came to look at the field and became convinced, but it required this demonstration to turn the tide of public opinion (Arensberg and Niehoff 1964:84-85).

Although new seeds may be introduced in this way, farmers sometimes reject them after a trial. Hybrid corn was introduced into a Spanish-American community in New Mexico in 1946. A demonstration plot yielded a harvest three times the normal one. By 1947 about three-fourths of the farmers were using the hybrid seed, but two years later almost all of them had reverted to the former variety. The reason was that the women of the community did not like the hybrid corn; it did not hang together well in the making of tortillas, and they did not care for the taste (Apadaca 1952). A similar response has been reported for some villages in India where new seeds have been introduced. In one community the villagers acknowledged the superiority of the new seed with regard to yield, disease resistance, and other qualities, but they preferred their old variety on grounds of taste and amenability in food preparation (Dube 1958:133). In another community it was found that the cows and bullocks did not like the straw of the new wheat and that the straw did not make good thatching for roofs. The old wheat was not used just for food but served multiple purposes (Marriott 1952).

In cases such as these, an anthropologist familiar with the local culture may be able to explain why the people have rejected the new seeds recommended by the extension workers.³

³ Ironically, it should be noted that the contrariness of the peasant may often be a blessing in disguise. The new high-yield varieties of grain have been produced by crossing and recrossing old varieties. The very success of the new breed tends to do away with the old varieties, resulting in a single variety that is vulnerable to disease. A blight, for example, seriously affected genetically similar stands of hybrid corn in the southern United States, destroying half the crops. A more devastating example was the Irish potato famine of the 1840s. In the original Andean homeland of the potato, there were thousands of varieties adapted to different altitudes and climates. If one variety of potato was decimated by blight, the others might not be affected at all. In Ireland, however, there was only a single variety; hence, all of the Irish potatoes were wiped out. In an effort to protect the genetic diversity of crops, millions of seeds are now being stored in refrigerated vaults at places like Fort Collins, Colorado ("Seeds of Tomorrow," NOVA broadcast, October 15, 1985).

Despite the conservatism of Indian peasants, the new seeds of the green revolution were usually accepted with enthusiasm by well-to-do farmers in areas like the Punjab, where irrigation was possible. Since these crops also require an expensive application of chemical fertilizers, poor peasants in drier regions were not able to take advantage of the new seeds. This makes a difference, for "three-fourths of India's cultivated acreage is not irrigated, and 'dry' farming predominates" (Ladejinsky 1970:763).⁴

Thus, various considerations—cultural, psychological, and practical—have influenced the decisions of peasants with regard to the adoption of new seeds.

Consumption of Milk among Zulus

The Zulus of southwestern Natal had bad health conditions in 1940; their infant mortality rate was very high, and more than 80 percent of the people showed signs of malnutrition. Pellagra and kwashiorkor, a disease afflicting severely malnourished infants and children, were common; there was much tuberculosis, venereal disease, and dysentery. One of the efforts made by members of a health center was to urge the Zulus to consume more eggs and milk. For various reasons, eggs were not commonly eaten; it was thought uneconomical to eat an egg that might later hatch, and eating eggs was considered a sign of greed and a source of licentiousness among girls. However, these ideas were not strongly held, and the members of the health center, through an educational campaign, were able to increase egg consumption considerably.

Milk proved to be more of a problem. The Zulus raise cattle and are much attached to them. Milk was thus available and was consumed by the men, but a complex of beliefs restricted milk consumption by women. The milk produced by a man's cattle can only be consumed by members of his kin group. One cannot get milk from another family. Moreover, once women have started to menstruate, they must not pass near cattle or drink milk. A married woman who lives with her husband's people is under a double restriction, being in a different kin group. Hence, married women were the persons least likely to drink milk. Members of the health center could not challenge this deep-seated belief system. At the same time, they wanted to provide better nutrition, including milk, for expectant and lactating mothers. This problem seemed insuperable, but there turned out to be a surprisingly easy partial solution: the introduction of powdered milk. The Zulus

⁴ For a pessimistic assessment of the effects of the green revolution in India, see Nair (1979:92).



Indian village with
dung pile. *The Amer-
ican Museum of
Natural History*

knew that this was milk, but it was different, not subject to the taboos and restrictions of “real” milk, and milk consumption rapidly rose.

The workers at the health center were also able to increase the growing and consumption of green vegetables. Through their efforts, malnutrition decreased markedly within a ten-year period. The incidence of kwashiorkor fell from twelve or more cases a week to less than twelve cases a year (Cassell 1955).

Compost Pits in an Indian Village

In the villages of northern India, women pile cow dung in a corner of the courtyard or in an open space near the house. Village-level workers in India’s community development program tried to persuade the villagers to place refuse and dung in compost pits outside the village. This would help clean up the village, and it would preserve manure more effectively. In some villages, however, although compost pits were dug, they remained unused.

Although women of high caste may handle cow dung and stack it up near their homes, they do not want to be seen carrying dung to the edge of the village. Very few families have servants to do such work, and men cannot do it because it is considered women's work. So the traditional practices continued (Dube 1958:68, 71, 135).

Introducing Latrines

In community development programs in different parts of the world, efforts have often been made to introduce latrines, for obvious hygienic reasons. Such efforts have been resisted for various reasons. In Uganda, people believe that one should never let enemies know where one defecates, since feces are used in sorcery. Under such circumstances, latrines would hardly be popular.

A different consideration underlay opposition to latrines in an Indian village where women were accustomed to going out into the fields to defecate. This gave them an opportunity to meet and talk with women friends, an occasion particularly valued by high-caste women, who were generally confined to their homes (Foster 1969:11).

Maintenance of Innovations

New appliances that are introduced into a community and become accepted by the people may later be abandoned, not because the people resist them or fail to appreciate their benefits but simply because the people lack the technical knowledge to repair the new gadgets and keep them in good working order. An example is provided by the wells that were installed in Laos by an American drilling company. The local people were glad to have some good sources of water available, but almost three-fourths of the wells were out of commission within two years because the people did not know how to repair the pumps. It happened that some of the wells had been drilled in Buddhist temple grounds, and these were kept in good repair by the monks. If the drilling company had given the Laotian villagers some instructions about maintenance, and if it had drilled more wells in temple grounds, there might have been better success with this innovation (Arensberg and Niehoff 1964:4-5).

Innovations and the Social Order

Some innovations brought about by a community development project may differentially affect segments of the community; some people may

benefit by the innovations, while others may resent them. For example, communal road building was encouraged by village-level workers in India. The idea was to get a whole village to cooperate in an undertaking that was conceived to benefit everyone. At the same time, such activity dramatized the dignity of labor. The more well-to-do men of higher caste welcomed these work drives, for the new roads made it possible for them to transport more grain and sugarcane to markets outside the village. The poorer men of lower caste did not have large crops of sugarcane or wheat, nor did they own bullock carts to transport such crops; hence, they did not feel the same enthusiasm for the roads. To add insult to injury, the higher-caste men assumed supervisory roles in the communal work drives and the lower-caste men had to do most of the manual work, for which they received no wages (Dube 1958:80-82).

Sometimes it is the well-to-do members of a community who resist innovations, regarding them as a threat to the status quo. This was the case in two applied anthropology projects in Peru that are described later in this chapter.

The Role of Indigenous Medicine

In all societies there are medical practitioners of one sort or another—shamans, herbal specialists, midwives, and so forth. Although magic and superstition may be involved in their curing practices, these practices often have some rational basis as well. When a community development project enters a new area, aiming to apply modern medicine, there may be resistance from the local practitioners. For example, a medical clinic established in the Mexican town of Tepoztlán was seen as a threat by an influential local *curandero*, or healer, who campaigned against it by spreading various false charges and rumors. Some local political officials joined in the criticism, and the clinic was ultimately abandoned (Lewis 1955).

It is not, however, necessary or advisable to antagonize local practitioners if one wishes to promote modern medical practices. It may be better to win them over and get their cooperation, particularly in view of the fact that there is a tremendous shortage of qualified medical personnel in most of the Third World. This point has been emphasized by John Bryant (1969:91-92):

Large numbers of the world's people, probably more than half, have no access to medical care at all. For those who reach the medical care system, the contact may have no significant influence on their lives and health. . . . the child returns to the same crippling setting from which he came. . . . The systems for health care and education of health

personnel, with few exceptions, were not designed to meet the needs of these [Third World] countries. They evolved in the more developed countries and were introduced into the less developed countries with only superficial adaptation to local need.

Bryant argues that in such areas one should make use of auxiliary agents such as local midwives who are not fully trained. "It is no exaggeration to say that the opposition of professional personnel to delegating responsibility to people with less training can be singled out as one of the most serious obstacles to improving health care in the world today" (Bryant 1969:321).

One area referred to by Bryant is the Sudan, where in the 1960s only about three hundred government doctors and six hundred medical assistants had to deal with thirty-four million outpatient visits per year (Bryant 1969:315). A study by Schwabe and Kuojok (1981) suggests how some traditional healers in the pastoral Dinka tribe of the Sudan might be used in connection with the health program. Among the Agar Dinka, four classes of healers practice both on people and on the cattle that are so important in the economy. The medical *atet* performs wound surgery and bonesetting for both cattle and humans. Schwabe and Kuojok describe such healers as having a generally good knowledge of anatomy and physiology, although the ones they interviewed were illiterate. They recommend these healers' "partial integration within the official veterinary and medical services. Appropriately designed educational programs in the Dinka language, carried out mostly in the cattle camps and of short duration, could probably correct any serious misinformation. . . . Concepts like asepsis could be usefully taught, as well as the uses of some basic drugs, especially for treatment of wounds" (1981:237). Schwabe and Kuojok suggest that the Dinka healers could contribute to a much-needed disease intelligence system in the southern Sudan and could be taught to collect stool, blood, and other specimens. The healers would, of course, continue to perform their usual services, but they would be able to do so more effectively after such training. Schwabe and Kuojok believe that cooperation with the local healers should be emphasized.

It has been estimated that about fifteen million children in developing countries today die before reaching the age of five, primarily from dehydration caused by diarrhea. Fortunately, a simple solution to this problem, Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT), has been found. This involves administering a solution of salt, sugar (glucose) or rice, and water to the child. One of the countries promoting ORT is Bangladesh, where nine hundred health workers now visit mothers of young children to teach Oral Rehydration Therapy, which can be done at home. These teachers need not be trained nurses. Once again, local auxiliary forces can be usefully employed in a health program.

Mother and child in a refugee camp in the Sudan, a home for sixty-two thousand Eritreans who fled the famine and war in northern Ethiopia. This camp provides an intensive feeding center for badly undernourished infants and children. © Sarah Putnam/The Picture Cube



Use of Hospital Facilities

Even where hospital facilities are available in the Third World, people are often reluctant to use them. During the 1960s less than one-third of the pregnant women in del Valle, Colombia, were delivered by trained personnel, partly because of a perceived “social distance” between the poorer women and the medical staff (Bryant 1969:87–88).

The Navaho Indians are reluctant to go to a hospital because they see it as a place to die. Besides, a Navaho has to make many unfamiliar cultural adjustments in a hospital.

He is unaccustomed to a bed, to living by the clock, to staying in one place continuously . . . and to efficient impersonal attention by people whose language he cannot speak. . . . When he has been sick at home before and has had a ceremonial, the medicine man has given him his undivided attention constantly for as much as nine days and nights. There were numbers of other people there, too, all laboring to get him well. Here it seems as if no one cares whether he gets well or not, and all he has to do is lie there. (Leighton and Leighton 1944:56–57)

This description could apply to many other non-Western cultures. Women in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, bury a child’s placenta beneath their

hearthstones, which ties the child to its home. Hence, they are reluctant to give birth in a hospital, where this cannot be done (Foster and Anderson 1978:229-30). A useful function of medical anthropology, Foster and Anderson suggest, is to acquaint public health personnel with such practices and with concepts of folk medicine, so that health programs can take them into account and find ways of dealing with them.

Formerly, ethnologists did not try to change the culture of the society in which they did their fieldwork. Sometimes they even hoped that it would be preserved as it was, as much as possible. The anthropologists took field notes and described what they saw. They hoped to publish their findings when they returned to civilization. The published findings might or might not have some influence on the community where they had worked. Applied anthropologists, however, do not simply describe the culture and go home; they try to bring about deliberate changes in the society they study.⁵

Criticisms of Applied Anthropology

Serious criticisms have been made of the work of applied anthropologists. Guillermo B. Batalla has made the following charges (1966:89-92):

1. There has been too much emphasis on psychological factors, such as native concepts of disease and health, and not enough examination of the basic causes of sickness and malnutrition.
2. Applied anthropologists are anxious to avoid rapid changes that may lead to social and cultural disorganization; hence, they are essentially conservative.
3. The anthropological tradition of cultural relativism makes anthropologists hesitate to pronounce value judgments about cultures

⁵ Until recently most of the positions available to anthropologists were academic teaching or museum jobs, while openings in applied anthropology were quite scarce. In recent years there has been an increase in the number of "practicing anthropologists," employed in "areas of administration, management, and service, rather than in research" (Chambers 1984:338). At present, according to T. Scarlett Epstein (1985:187), practicing anthropologists "by far" outnumber academic anthropologists in England. Students interested in opportunities in applied anthropology can consult Eleanor Leacock, Nancie L. Gonzales, and Gilbert Kushner, eds., *Training Programs for New Opportunities in Applied Anthropology*, Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association in collaboration with the Society for Applied Anthropology, Washington, D.C., 1974; and *Getting a Job outside the Academy*, Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, no. 14, Washington, D.C., 1982.

and institutions. But if one cannot say that one culture or institution is better than another, there is no point in doing work in applied anthropology.

4. Anthropologists tend to believe in multiple causation and hold that it is impossible to know all the causes of a given phenomenon. General social laws are hard to formulate, since no two groups have the same needs or problems. In each case, therefore, a detailed study of the local community is required. This often results in a monograph about a particular community without consideration of its ties with the larger world. There is an implicit conservative bias in this approach.

5. Most social problems in developing countries are related to low income levels and an unequal distribution of wealth. Most anthropologists, however, seem to believe that income levels can change only very slowly. They do not wish to challenge the social system that causes and perpetuates poverty.

6. Anthropologists seem to think that diffusion is the most important process in bringing about change. They rarely establish goals to accelerate change in internal institutions. Applied anthropologists change what is necessary so that things can stay as they are, and so they have allied themselves with the conservative elements of the societies in which they have worked.

Glynn Cochrane (1971) has criticized applied anthropologists for concerning themselves with only small community studies. He claims that anthropologists do not know the contributions of other disciplines and professions in development work and cannot collaborate well with them. According to Cochrane, applied anthropologists should become familiar with the practical aspects of bureaucratic administration and should specialize in economic or legal anthropology in order to be more effective in their work.

Rather than attempt a rebuttal of these rather telling charges, let us consider a case where applied anthropology seems to have been effective, for the best test, after all, is the pragmatic one of how it works in practice. The example that follows concerns the community of Kuyo Chico in the highlands of Peru.

Applied Anthropology in Kuyo Chico

Two important projects of applied anthropology were carried out in the Andean highlands of Peru between 1952 and 1969. The first was the better-known Vicos project; the second was a project at Kuyo Chico. Vicos was a public hacienda or manor that was rented out to the highest bidder every five to ten years. The successful renter was able to use the labor of peons, peasants who were veritable serfs, working for several days a week without pay to cultivate the crops of the hacienda

in return for the right to cultivate their own small family plots. In Peru the owners of haciendas and other people in authority belonged to the dominant Mestizo group, while the peons were Indians.

Kuyo Chico was not connected with an hacienda but was an "indigenous community" under the protection of the Peruvian Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs. However, like the Indians of Vicos, those of Kuyo Chico suffered from Mestizo exploitation:

By means of the whip, the extraction of goods, or the threat of jail, they force the Indians of the communities to go into town, where instead of being employed in public works, they are assigned to a series of private jobs for the benefit of the Mestizos. Thus they not only sweep the streets of the town, but the private homes of the Mestizos as well. They may also be assigned to agricultural work, building of private homes, or carrying of firewood. (Nuñez del Prado 1973:17)

The applied anthropology program in Vicos was initiated when Cornell University was able to rent the hacienda in 1952; it was purchased in 1962. Two leading figures in the administration of the project were the anthropologists Allan Holmberg and Mario Vasquez. Efforts were made to increase education, agricultural productivity, and health facilities and also to strengthen the position of the Indians in their relation to the Mestizos. Since the anthropologists were now in charge of the hacienda, they were able to abolish the traditional requirement that each household contribute the labor of one peon for three days each week and to substitute a volunteer program in which the peasants were paid for their services (Dobyns, Doughty, and Lasswell 1971). The Vicos project was so successful that fears of revolution spread among the landowning classes throughout Peru.

In this section, however, we will focus on the project in Kuyo Chico rather than on that in Vicos. In this case, the catalytic agent was a Peruvian anthropologist, Oscar Nuñez del Prado; this was an entirely Peruvian project, sponsored by various government agencies. Although Kuyo Chico was an indigenous community, peasants worked on neighboring haciendas between 90 and 120 days per year in order to have small plots of land to cultivate. Since so much of the peasants' time was given over to working for Mestizos, Nuñez del Prado decided to confront the local power situation at the outset. He arranged for an assembly in the town that was attended by many Indians from neighboring villages. Also present were several prominent Mestizo politicians who probably hoped to control the proceedings. Nuñez, however, took advantage of their presence, as he told the Indians "that no one had the right to force them to work without pay, or to take things away from their homes, or to mistreat them, or to imprison and require personal work of them" (Nuñez del Prado 1973:49). He then asked the authorities present if what he said was true. They had to admit it, for,

strictly speaking, the abuses mentioned were forbidden by law. This strengthened the anthropologist's hand.⁶

Nuñez del Prado promptly initiated a series of local projects, the first having to do with home improvements. This project led to a recognition of the value of tiled roofs as opposed to the traditional thatching. Nuñez suggested that the peasants make their own tiles; they could hire a specialist from Cuzco to direct the building of a furnace and teach the people how to make tiles. This was agreed upon, and the work began. Then it was found that Kuyo Chico did not have enough fuel to bake the tiles. Accordingly, the decision was made to import a large number of eucalyptus and pine trees and plant them on the slopes near the river. This, in turn, led to another problem: how to provide enough water for the trees to grow? Partly to deal with that problem, but also to open up more land for cultivation, work was begun on a canal that was ultimately almost five kilometers long. "The canal had not yet been finished, but already the community was thinking of new possibilities, such as establishing a hydroelectric plant and using the energy to operate a flour mill. Though there was neither power plant nor mill, they proceeded to erect a building for a bread bakery" (Nuñez del Prado 1973:61). Thus, one project led to another as the Indians' successes increased their sense of self-confidence. Per capita income in the community increased fivefold; the raising of animals almost doubled; and there was a great increase in cultivated fields and in the introduction of new crops.

Another enterprise was a carpentry workshop with an instructor who could teach the Indians how to make doors and windows for their homes and new furniture. Nuñez del Prado also organized social clubs to get the young people of Kuyo Chico more involved in education. This was done partly through a sports program that involved soccer teams. Combined with this effort was an adult literacy program. A new house was built for the teachers to live in. By this time, almost all the children in the area served by the school were attending classes.

A new doctor who started to practice in Kuyo Chico agreed to begin by working with the local healers, or *curanderos*, learning their disease classifications and methods of treatment. Eventually a local hospital was built.

The example of Kuyo Chico was soon followed by many other Indian communities in the region that refused to take part in forced labor and adopted many of Kuyo Chico's programs. "Actions were directed toward the improvement of roads, the remodeling of homes, the construction of reservoirs and irrigation ditches, laying claim to mines, the

⁶ Municipal councils in the Andes were required by law to fix the minimum daily wages for the Indians once every year, but this was never done, since the Mestizos who served on the councils did not want to pay the peons.

construction of ovens for firing clay, the construction of civic centers and sewing workshops, the improvement of schools, and health, forestry, and literacy campaigns" (Nuñez del Prado 1973:104). Here, it would seem, is a successful enterprise in applied anthropology. Such a project requires imagination and courage as well as an intimate knowledge of the local culture and social structure.

Summary

Applied anthropologists have worked in community development projects in developing countries. The lack of success of particular projects often arises from a lack of knowledge of the sociocultural milieu in a particular region. In such cases, applied anthropologists may suggest solutions. An example was the difficulty of getting married Zulu women to drink milk, despite its availability. The problem stemmed from a complex of beliefs that were resistant to arguments by members of the health center. The successful solution to this particular issue was the introduction of powdered milk, which was not subject to the traditional taboos.

Introduced innovations sometimes fail because of conflicts with local beliefs and customs or because of the difficulty of maintaining new technological items, as in the case of the well pumps in Laos. Innovations may adversely affect the richer or poorer segment of the community, and this may trigger resistance from the adversely affected segment. Technology is not the issue in such cases; the problem concerns social structure and local beliefs and attitudes. That makes it an appropriate sphere of investigation for sociocultural anthropologists.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For someone who wishes to read more about applied anthropology, it might be best to begin with two readers. Each presents a series of cases; both are well written. The first is Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952). The second is Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955).

Four general works may be recommended: George M. Foster, *Applied Anthropology* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, *Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Americans Overseas* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1964); Ward Hunt Goodenough, *Cooperation in Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963); and Charles J. Erasmus, *Man Takes Control: Cultural Development and American Aid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

Batalla's criticisms and other articles on applied anthropology may be found in James A. Clifton, ed., *Applied Anthropology: Readings in the Uses of the Science of Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970).

For the two Peruvian projects discussed in this chapter, see Henry F. Dobyns, Paul L. Doughty, and Harold D. Lasswell, *Peasants, Power, and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1971); and Oscar Nuñez del Prado, with the collaboration of William Foote Whyte, *Kuyo Chico: Applied Anthropology in an Indian Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

On medical anthropology, see David Landy, ed., *Culture, Disease, and Healing: Studies in Medical Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1977); George M. Foster and Barbara Gallatin Anderson, *Medical Anthropology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978); and Michael H. Logan and Edward E. Hunt, Jr., eds., *Health and the Human Condition: Perspectives in Medical Anthropology* (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1978).



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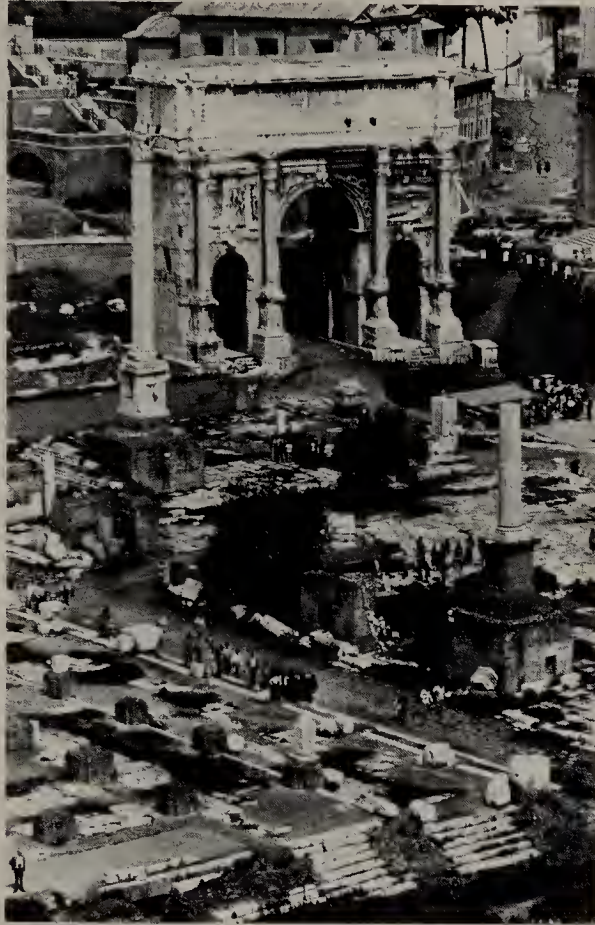
City Life

Our man-made urban environment progressively covers more of the earth. In 1800 there were only 50 cities in the world with a population of over 100,000; today there are more than 1,400 such cities. By 1969 over 140 cities had 1 million or more inhabitants and contained 11 percent of the world's population (Ferkiss 1969:114). In 1790, 95 percent of Americans lived in rural areas; by 1960, 70 percent lived in urban areas.

In the early development of the world's big cities, their population increase was largely due to migration from the countryside, where birthrates were higher than in the cities. At that time, the cities also had higher death rates than the countryside, related to their overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions. But with better medical facilities now available and more public health funds going to cities, the people in the world's cities are now multiplying more rapidly and rural-urban migration is a less significant factor in urban population increase.

Preindustrial Cities

The first cities came into being in Bronze Age times. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, which flourished around 2000 B.C. in the Indus Valley region of Pakistan, show evidence of city planning, having housefronts



The Roman forum as it looks today. © MCMLXXX Peter Menzel

lined up in straight lines and streets intersecting at right angles. Sewers ran beneath the street level, with pipes emptying into them from the houses. The *Arthashastra*, composed around 300 B.C., describes how an Indian royal city should be laid out, with the four *varna*—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra (see page 236)—being assigned to different quarters of the city, as were followers of different occupations. A similar segregation existed in some Arab cities, such as Fez in Morocco and Aleppo in Syria. Occupational and ethnic groups occupied different wards closed in by walls, the gates to which were locked at night. In both Near Eastern and Indian cities it was customary to have special streets occupied by members of a particular trade, such as goldsmiths.

There was planning in the organization of cities of the Roman Empire. The forum, where public affairs were transacted, was surrounded by law courts, offices, temples, and baths. Aqueducts brought water into the city; sewers and roads also give evidence of city planning. Yet these large urban centers disintegrated in Europe in the eighth century A.D., and western Europe reverted to an agrarian economy with very little trade or urban settlement.

As Basil Davidson has shown (1959), in Africa south of the Sahara there were preindustrial cities before the European colonial period began. Yoruba cities in West Africa were inhabited by many farmers who, in contrast with modern suburban commuters, left the city every morning for their farms on the outskirts. William Bascom (1963) has pointed out how these preindustrial cities differed from the modern African cities that developed as a result of European contact. Most of the inhabitants spent their lives in the city from birth, whereas in modern African cities there are many recent migrants who live in the city only temporarily and hope to return to their villages before they die. In the traditional Yoruba city, husbands lived with their wives and children, and family and lineage ties remained intact. There was little social disorganization or crime, in comparison with modern cities. This suggests that city life need not of itself lead to rootlessness, anomie, and crime, as some writers have asserted; the circumstances of urbanization must be taken into account.

Two special types of preindustrial cities included political centers (Delhi in India, Peking in China) and religious centers of pilgrimage (Banaras in India, Karbala in Iraq).

Colonial Cities

A particular type of political center developed in colonial regions dominated by European powers. The Spaniards in Mexico and Peru established capital cities on the sites of former native centers of power (Tenochtitlán, Cuzco). Hugo G. Nuttini (1972) has noted that the Spaniards and Portuguese, who aimed to Catholicize as well as dominate the native peoples, located their cities in inland regions, in contrast to the British, French, and Dutch in North America, who established coastal towns linked to Europe by trade across the sea.

Spanish colonial cities have an imposing square in the center, where the government buildings and cathedral are located. This is the case, for example, in Mexico City, where the conqueror Cortés forced the Indians to move out of the central area. The finest homes, including that of Cortés, were located near the center. Mexico City today has a residence pattern which differs from that of many North American cities, where it is common to find deteriorating slum areas near the central business district. In Mexico City the worst slums are on the outer edge of the metropolitan area, a condition that has persisted for more than 440 years (Hayner 1966). Mexico City may be called a *primate* city, that is, a city that dominates a surrounding area and is much larger than the other urban centers. It is the center of transportation, manufactures, and political and intellectual life for the nation. A difference between most Latin American cities and the cities of

North America is that industrialization developed slowly in Latin America. At the same time, the population of large cities in Latin America is now doubling every fourteen years (L. R. Brown 1972:78).

British colonial cities in India have a character somewhat similar to the Spanish colonial ones. In cities where troops were stationed, there is a modern section known as the *cantonment*, which has straight, broad streets, in contrast to the narrow, jumbled alleys of the old preindustrial city. The cantonment contains offices of government, law courts, churches, clubs, banks, and stores with European goods. As in Mexico City and many other Latin American cities, the poor tend to be located in slums on the city's outskirts, rather than near the central business district, while the well-to-do tend to live fairly close to the center. The lowest castes are often grouped on the outskirts of India's cities, as they are in many Indian villages. There are caste neighborhoods in some Indian cities, where one may find, for example, a high percentage of Brahmans.

A striking feature of Indian cities is the number of homeless persons who sleep on the streets. Estimates of their number in Calcutta have ranged between 100,000 and 300,000. In an article in the *New York Times* of September 8, 1967, Joseph Lelyveld described a young Calcutta couple with two children who shared the same patch of sidewalk every night; they had never lived indoors. They did, however, rent a stall about five feet square in a shanty across the street, where they ate and where the woman gave birth to the two children. But the stall was less comfortable to sleep in than the pavement outside. Most of Calcutta's sidewalk dwellers, says Lelyveld, have such a stall, which gives them a legal existence, an address to qualify for a ration card or a place in school for their children. The homeless inhabitants of Calcutta illustrate the problems faced by industrializing countries in which urbanization is developing rapidly, while job opportunities remain insufficient for the growing population. India's urban growth had a slow start but is now increasing rapidly. In 1951 there were only two cities in India with a population of over one million, but now there are seven such cities.

Industrial Cities

Industrial cities differ from preindustrial ones in that they contain industries that rely on inanimate sources of power, such as steam and electricity. This system of production, which originated in Europe, is now in operation to a greater or lesser degree in all nations. The development of the railroad accompanied industrialization. In the United States there are key railroad and port centers, such as Chicago and Buffalo, that are centers of both industry and transportation.



San Francisco's Chinatown with its ethnic jumble of street signs. © Peter Menzel

Studies made by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and other sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s showed that there was a concentric zonal pattern in Chicago. Zone I was the central business district, containing the department stores, office buildings, and centers of economic, political, and social life. Zone II was a transitional zone, including the factory district and a rundown roominghouse area. Zone III was a zone of workingmen's homes; Zone IV was a better residential area; and Zone V was a commuters' zone. Thus, there was seen to be a series of concentric zones, with better residential areas toward the periphery (Burgess 1961). A similar pattern has been described for other U.S. cities, although not all fit the scheme so well. We have noted that Latin American and Indian cities do not have this particular zonal plan and that their slums are located on the peripheries rather than near the central business district.

Early urban studies by sociologists such as Louis Wirth emphasized the anonymity and impersonality of life in a modern city. The anthropologist Robert Redfield echoed this view in his concept of the folk-urban continuum, in which homogeneous folk society was contrasted with heterogeneous city life. In the small, face-to-face folk society, according to Redfield, kin relationships are important and religion is incorporated into other aspects of the culture; but in the more secular city, kin ties lose their importance and the individual is more isolated from others. Redfield (1941) tried to document these generalizations by comparing four communities in Yucatán, from the modern-day city of

Merida to a small, unacculturated tribal village, with two intermediate communities in between.

The central slum areas of modern cities were thought to be particularly disorganized and thus particularly conducive to anomie and schizophrenia (Faris and Dunham 1939). The absence of close personal relationships and the rarity of voluntary associations were cited as causative factors. Such views were commonly expressed in the 1930s and 1940s, particularly by writers dealing with the city of Chicago.

More recently it has been realized that city dwellers are not deprived of close friendships and associations, even in rundown slum areas. William F. Whyte (1943) wrote a detailed study of Italian-American street corner life in Boston, in which he showed that close personal ties often extend beyond adolescence. Herbert J. Gans (1962) and Marc Fried (1963) have also written about the sense of community experienced in an Italian Boston slum. Voluntary associations do exist in such slum areas, and informal opportunities for social contact are also present (for example, C. E. Richards 1963-64).

Ethnic Grouping

Cities are heterogeneous centers with immigrants from many countries and regions. This is less true of a more racially and culturally homogeneous nation like Japan, although Japan has Chinese and Korean minority groups and localized diversities in culture. But the cities of Africa contain persons from many tribes, and the cities of India have migrants from different parts of the subcontinent who speak various languages. Adjustment to city life forces some degree of "melting pot" accommodation to the dominant urban culture. On the other hand, strangers to a city tend to seek out relatives and friends from their own region, and thus one often finds ethnic clustering—a Chinatown, a German Yorkville in New York, a Polish or Italian neighborhood. When Italian immigrants poured into New York in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they clustered in specific neighborhoods: those from Naples settled in the Mulberry Bend area; those from Genoa, on Baxter Street; those from Sicily, on Elizabeth Street; and those from North Italy, in the Eighth and Fifteenth wards west of Broadway (Jones 1960). Such centers of common origin formed the basis for voluntary associations and provided an in-group with some sense of social solidarity, mutual aid, and a center for learning about sources of employment and other useful information. Similar developments took place in other American cities. Particular national groups sometimes specialized in certain occupations. In Chicago in the late nineteenth century, sailors in Great Lakes shipping tended to be

Scandinavians, apartment janitors were often Flemish, while eastern European Jews went into the garment industry (Pelling 1960).

Since newly arriving immigrants were often poor, they tended to accept low-paid, unskilled work and to live in slum areas. These circumstances fostered the development of stereotyped attitudes toward these minorities among higher-status, longer-established Americans. Many of the opinions that are now held by well-to-do whites about American urban blacks were also held about the Irish in the nineteenth century. A book entitled *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, published in 1872, dealt mainly with the Irish (Kristol 1970).

The experience of prejudice may lead to some closing of ranks and attempts toward solidarity within a disadvantaged group. Thus, blacks are urged in the black press and churches to patronize black business firms when there is competition with white-owned firms. Most of the basis for black capitalism is within the black community itself (Hanerz 1974:55).

While ethnicity may provide a basis for support within the in-group, it may also create obstacles to economic and social advancement for individuals. Hence, immigrants with higher status often look down upon later arrivals with whom they do not wish to be identified.

Despite the melting pot tendencies of American life, ethnic groups are still identifiable and are often a source of pride and self-identity. Thus, efforts are made to retain or reestablish old ethnic patterns. The Irish march on Saint Patrick's Day. German and Polish groups in Milwaukee practice traditional folk dances from the old country. Urban American Indians from different tribes try to find a new or old identity in the Pan-Indian movement. Blacks speak about soul and wear their hair in Afro style. These varied activities, whether traditional or synthetic, provide some heterogeneity and color in American life, as do the various kinds of ethnic foods—Jewish delicatessen, Italian pasta, and Chinese chop suey, to mention only a few.

The Future of City Life

Kahn and Wiener (1967:61–62) predict that the United States will have three giant megalopolitan areas in A.D. 2000, to which they give the picturesque names of Boswash, Chipitts, and Sansan. Boswash will extend from Boston to Washington and may contain almost one-fourth of the U.S. population. Chipitts, concentrated around the Great Lakes, will stretch from Chicago to Pittsburgh and may extend north to Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Buffalo, and Rochester. Sansan would stretch initially from San Diego to Santa Barbara and ultimately from Santa Barbara to San Francisco. The three megalopolitan

areas are expected to include about half the U.S. population in the year 2000. Kahn' and Wiener predict that similar megalopolitan areas will develop in other parts of the world—in southeastern England, in the Tokyo-Osaka strip in Japan, and elsewhere. The potentialities for further air and water pollution in such massed agglomerations are obviously immense, particularly if the present form of automobile continues to be used.

Peter G. Goldmark (1975:92) notes that "the incidence of all types of crime is four times higher in a community of one million than in a community of ten thousand." For these and other reasons, Goldmark would, quixotically perhaps, like to arrest the growth of cities. Goldmark is an advocate of what he calls the New Rural Society. About fifty years ago, there was a movement away from the rural districts of America, where two-thirds of the people then lived, to the urban areas, which then held only one-third of the population. "Today, about one-fourth of our population lives in rural areas and approximately 75% in urban and suburban areas" (Goldmark 1975:91).

Goldmark points out that this urban concentration is no longer really necessary. Modern communication methods now make decentralization more feasible:

Service-type businesses, such as insurance companies, banks, and mail-order houses, and non manufacturing portions of industrial businesses such as personnel departments and data centers do not have to be located in urban headquarters. They can be self-contained units which could operate in a dispersed fashion hundreds or thousands of miles away from each other and from their headquarters locations. We presently have the communication means to achieve cost-effective operation of these separated units. (Goldmark 1975:92)

Goldmark's purpose, then, is to provide people with the option of living in an urban-suburban or rural community. Perhaps we do not all need to end up in Boswash, Chipitts, or Sansan after all. Time will tell.

Summary

Cities were in existence as far back as 3000 B.C., or earlier, but their proliferation and increase in size have been recent, dating from the advent of the Industrial Revolution. Preindustrial cities included centers of government and pilgrimage. Such cities were often compartmentalized into separate walled wards for different occupational and ethnic groups.

Colonial cities were established by European powers during the

period of their expansion. Spanish colonial cities in the New World have a central square where government buildings and cathedral are located. Slums are found on the outskirts rather than near the center of the city, as in many cities in the United States. British colonial cities in India had a modern cantonment area with broad streets, where there were government buildings, banks, churches, clubs, and stores. This area was quite separate from the old city. Indian cities often have caste neighborhoods, with separate sections in the outskirts for the lowest castes.

Industrial cities rely on steam, gas, and electricity for power and are related to the development of the railroad. Such American cities as Buffalo and Chicago are both railroad and port centers. Many such cities have a more or less concentric plan, with a central business district containing department stores, banks, hotels, restaurants, and office buildings and a nearby factory district and rundown rooming-house area. Better homes are located in outer zones, particularly in the commuters' suburbs. Such cities have heterogeneous populations, often having some specialization in occupations, that cluster in separate ethnic neighborhoods.

Cities have been growing inexorably for the past fifty years, but some reformers are now trying to stem the tide and even hope to reverse the process somewhat.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A reader on urbanism with a cross-cultural emphasis is Sylvia Fleis Fava, ed., *Urbanization in World Perspective: A Reader* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968). On the aims of urban anthropology, see Edwin Eames and Judith Granich Goode, *Anthropology of the City: An Introduction to Urban Anthropology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977).

A good reader on U.S. urban life is Joe R. Feagan, *The Urban Scene: Myths and Realities* (New York: Random House, 1973).

Works by anthropologists about non-Western cities include the following: John Gulick, *Tripoli: A Modern Arab City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa: The Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); and Andrew H. Whiteford, *Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor Books, 1964).

On ethnic groups, see Abner Cohen, ed., *Urban Ethnicity* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974), particularly Ulf Hannerz, "Ethnicity and Opportunity in Urban America," pp. 37-76. See also Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1963).

Two studies of American urban life are recommended: William F. Whyte,

Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); and Elliot Liebow, *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967). See also William Mangin, ed., *Peasants in Cities: Readings in the Anthropology of Urbanization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970); and Joseph G. Jorgensen and Marcello Truzzi, eds., *Anthropology and American Life* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974).



Windows on Three Cultures VII

The Inuit

Contact with Europeans and Americans greatly changed Inuit culture. Oswalt (1979:283) tells us that the first regular trade in the Hudson Bay region was on the west coast north of Churchill during the eighteenth century, particularly from 1750 to 1790. In 1866 the Hudson's Bay Company opened a trading post at Fort Chimo, which Inuit visited. Inuit also traded with whalers who wintered in Hudson Bay, starting around 1860. An important innovation was the rifle, which in some groups had replaced the bow and arrow by 1885. Another innovation was the use of twine nets to catch both fish and sea mammals (Graburn 1969:107, 109). These new hunting and fishing techniques facilitated more individualism. A lone hunter with a gun could kill caribou without having to take part in an organized drive, and group fishing at stone weirs was undercut by the use of nets (Hughes 1965:17, 24).

Reliance on the rifle has sometimes been blamed for the drastic decline of the caribou, a loss of 60 percent within six years after 1949, but alternative explanations for the decline have been offered, including fires that destroyed the lichen on which caribou grazed (Hughes 1965:18; Graburn 1969:15-16). The use of the rifle also led to more individualistic methods of seal hunting. As noted in the Windows on Three Cultures I section, the chances of harpooning a seal in the old

days were greatly enhanced if several hunters were covering different blowholes. This was no longer necessary when guns were used. A seal could now be shot at a greater distance without the long wait over a blowhole, but this often led to a loss of carcasses when seals sank or floated away (Hughes 1965:16-17). Graburn reports that during the summer about 50 percent of the seals killed at Sugluk were lost through sinking (Graburn 1969:131).

Other early innovations in material culture acquired by the Inuit included needles, saws, and other objects of metal. Traditional tools were sometimes made with new materials. "Examples include skin scrapers made from bottle glass, semilunar knife blades cut from metal, and spent cartridges used as blunt arrowpoints for hunting birds" (Oswalt 1979:281). Some Inuit groups had few items of European manufacture before 1900, except for needles, knives, rifles, and some iron used in spears (Graburn 1969:116). But a taste for foreign goods had been acquired. An important trade item was the arctic fox, trapped by Eskimos to buy store goods. The price of fox skins fluctuated widely; these once sold for as much as \$40.00 a skin, later dropped in price to only \$2.50 (Iglauer 1962). When the caribou herds declined, the Inuit turned to store-bought clothing instead of making their traditional clothes of caribou leather. Store-bought food and tobacco also became popular.

Wage labor became an important means of subsistence for some Inuit during World War II, with the construction of military airfields and later the distant early warning radar line, which stretched across Canada. Among other things, these projects brought a valued scarce commodity—wood—to the Inuit, who salvaged leftover material for their purposes. Shantytowns soon grew up in the neighborhood of some airfields (Hughes 1965:19). Since the 1960s a common feature of the new communities has been the prefabricated one-room "matchbox" houses, some of which had a bathroom with a commode and bathtub, although without running water (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965:56).

Some Eskimo men still prefer to hunt and to keep away from the new settlements, although they are willing to work in summer to earn enough money for ammunition. According to Hughes (1965:22), tensions have sometimes developed between such hunters and wage earners. People expect the hunters to share their meat in the traditional style, but money is not shared in the same way; what a man earns remains his own. Here patterns of reciprocity are not maintained.

Some Inuit have been able to buy Peterhead boats, diesel-powered craft thirty-five to forty feet long, used in whaling. "This new form of technology has made possible co-operative hunting patterns traditionally unknown in certain groups, such as open-water summer hunting of walruses and seals among the Iglulik and Netsilik Eskimos.

. . . Usually the core of the crew consists of brothers from the same residential band, with the father or oldest brother the acknowledged leader" (Hughes 1965:25). Modern boats of this kind have replaced the traditional umiak and kayak in some areas. A drawback of modern motorboats, however is that they require large amounts of oil and gasoline to operate (Graburn 1969:130, 138). Also, the noise of the motors frightens away seals. However, Peterhead boats enable hunters to cover much greater distances than they could formerly.

Some of these same advantages and drawbacks relate to the use of snowmobiles or ski-doo's, which developed in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s they cost about \$800. They could travel for about an hour on one or two gallons of gas and could pull loads of up to one thousand pounds. At Arctic Bay on Baffin Island the number of ski-doo's rose from one in 1964 to twenty in 1969. Their advantages over dog-drawn sleds are speed and the ability to cover great distances. With the ski-doo, animals can be approached quickly and shot at close range. Moreover, since meat is not needed to feed dogs, more of it can be saved for human consumption. But the ski-doo also has drawbacks, including fuel costs and the noise, which scares away seals. Mechanical failures are common; men may freeze on a long walk home (L. Smith 1972).

Any future fuel crisis would seriously affect the Inuit. Not only do they need gasoline and oil for the new Peterhead boats and snowmobiles, but they also use such fuel in their homes. Oil is brought to Frobisher Bay by tankers and delivered to homes by trucks of the Imperial Oil Company, "pumping into tanks mounted on stilts alongside the buildings" (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965:46).

As Canadian citizens, Inuit with children under sixteen years of age are entitled to family allowances, which are often a major source of a family's income (Graburn 1969:140). Apart from government subsidies and wage work, another source of income since the 1950s has been the sale of native art, especially soapstone carvings. Block prints have also sold well. Government-supported artists have sometimes been sent to guide Inuit in this work. This was done so successfully at Cape Dorset that "people have radios, watch television, and provide enough material for a monthly aeroplane service to be maintained" (Burland 1973:79).

The tendency of Inuit to congregate at places like airfields and trading posts has led to much larger settlements than formerly. "The overall trend, then, is for smaller settlements to get smaller and even to disappear, and for the medium- and large-sized ones to get even larger. This leaves large stretches of coastline uninhabited as never before—even areas that are abundant in game" (Graburn 1969:222).

Social control nowadays is partly maintained by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Blood vengeance is no longer acceptable. In the 1950s the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

Two Inuit boys, both of whom were born in a hunting camp, stand beside their father's automobile, which was used as the first taxi in northern Baffin Island and was the only automobile in the settlement at the time, in 1973.

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was established. Throughout the arctic region it formed community councils to advise the administration about local concerns. According to Matthiasson (1977), the composition of each council was mainly Inuit and council members were elected by the largely Inuit community. However, the area administrator had a veto power over council decisions that were held to be against government policy.

At Pond Inlet in Baffin Island, where Matthiasson did his research, three headmen of former camp groups that had moved to Pond Inlet were elected to the six-man council in 1966, and in the following year all of the council members were camp headmen. In later years some women were elected to the council. Council affairs were taken seriously by members of the community, who had achieved a fair amount of local autonomy. In other Inuit communities cooperatives have been formed in which group decisions are made. Thus, the Inuit have made adaptive adjustments to the Canadian political system.

Under missionary influence, much of the early shamanistic religion has been abandoned, including the complex of beliefs and practices concerning Sedna, and Christianity has generally been accepted. In at least some Inuit groups, men do no hunting on Sundays; the violator of such a rule may be expelled from camp, along with his family (Matthiasson 1977).

Among its more adverse consequences, contact with Europeans brought new diseases for which the Eskimos had no immunity. There were epidemics of pulmonary diseases in Labrador in the eighteenth century, and tuberculosis became endemic in the later 1940s. By 1950

about 17 percent of Canada's Eskimos had tuberculosis. In the same year, a ship equipped with hospital facilities and x-ray equipment was sent to Inuit areas and patients were taken to hospitals in the south for further treatment.

Early contacts thus resulted in a population decline among the Inuit, but this trend has since been reversed, and there is now a population boom. Many Inuit have married whites. "The aboriginal population was about 51,000; in the mid-1970s people who considered themselves Eskimo in legal or social terms probably numbered about 100,000" (Oswalt 1979:301). At Sugluk, children under five make up 19 percent of the total population (Graburn 1969:148).

The children in the new settlements are receiving an education. "After World War II the Canadian government established secular schools to replace the earlier ones started by missionaries. More than half the children had access to such schools by 1960, and today most communities have schools" (Oswalt 1979:287).

The rapid changes have created problems, such as frequent sexual delinquency and prostitution among many Inuit girls and a great deal of drinking and alcoholism. Moreover, the recent changes seem to have led to a deterioration of diet and nutrition, even though a greater variety of food is now available. Nowadays, "the Eskimo has the full complement of diet-related diseases that are characteristic of other segments of the U.S. population of low socioeconomic status: obesity, cardiovascular disease, hypertension, and tooth decay" (Draper 1977:316).

Despite the problems brought on by recent culture change, the Inuit, who were remarkably adaptive in the past, when adjusting to their geographical environment, are still adaptive today in adjusting to new sociocultural conditions. In 1963 the Honigmans interviewed seventy-nine Eskimo townsmen at Frobisher Bay and found that most of them were pleased by their current conditions of life. Some older persons favorably compared their present security with the difficult conditions of former times. The Honigmans saw few indications of poverty at Frobisher Bay; basic needs seemed to be adequately met (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965:44, 85). Of course, conditions may not be so favorable in other Inuit communities; but in many there are grounds for optimism about the future.

The Hopi of Arizona

Despite its conservatism, Hopi culture has never been static. On pages 129-30 reference was made to the innovations introduced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as iron hoes,

steel axes, peaches, apricots, wheat, peas, and domesticated donkeys, horses, and sheep. The Hopi have been influenced not only by the whites but also by the cultures of other Indian tribes (see Dozier 1964:88-90). This section, however, will deal with changes that have come about since 1900. At that time, U.S. government policy toward the Hopi and other Indians was designed to convert and assimilate them to an "American" way of life. Children were to be taken from their parents and educated in boarding schools away from the reservation.

As a result, Oraibi was split by the development of two factions. The Friendlies or Progressives were willing to send Hopi children to government boarding schools to get an education, while the Hostiles or Conservatives were opposed to such a move and wanted to resist it. Since unity of sentiment within a community was important to the Hopi, it was decided that one of the two factions should leave the pueblo. The issue was decided in 1906 by a tug-of-war in the plaza. The Hostiles lost and left Oraibi to found a new settlement. This episode expresses both continuity and change. There was internal conflict, in opposition to Hopi ideals, but it was peacefully resolved by the tug-of-war and the departure of the losing faction. Hopi children did go away to the government school, but this did not impair the integrity of Hopi culture, as may be seen in the strong affirmation of Hopi values by a school graduate from Oraibi who wrote the best autobiography we have by an American Indian (Simmons 1942).

In an analysis of Hopi gossip, Bruce A. Cox (1970) describes later factional splits along similar lines. In the 1970s the main division was between those who supported the Tribal Council—which aimed to politically unify the different Hopi communities—and those who gave their support to local village leaders. The former group is labeled Progressive, succeeding to the position of the earlier Friendlies, while the supporters of the village leaders are labeled Traditionalists. The Progressives favor oil exploration on Indian land, road building, and the construction of electric power lines, while the Traditionalists oppose these innovations.

However, the differences between "progressives" and "traditionalists" are not always so clear-cut. Pueblo groups or communities that are progressive in some respects may be conservative in others. In the eastern Pueblos, for example "Tesuque, most conservative of the Tewa villages, was the first to install plumbing and sanitation facilities under the Indian Sanitation Act of 1959. Santo Domingo is frequently cited as *the* most conservative, yet plumbing and electricity are present" (Bodine 1972:271). In discussing the factions that divide the Hopi community of Moenkopi, Nagata (1970:93) finds that the terms *traditional* and *progressive* are inappropriate.

In the 1930s, during the Roosevelt administration, there was a change in government policy toward the Indians. Instead of encouraging assimilation, the Roosevelt administration provided support for traditional Indian cultures and for government by tribal councils. In 1941 there were crucial developments that affected the Hopi. A boundary dispute between the Hopi and the Navaho was settled by the secretary of the interior so as to grant the Hopi a land-use area that was only one-fourth the size of their original reservation. At the same time, because of a drought in the Southwest, the government demanded a 24 percent reduction in Hopi livestock. Soon thereafter about one-third of the tribe either joined the armed forces or became involved in war work (Thompson 1950:10).

Culture change among the Hopi has been described for Oraibi by Mischa Titiev and for Moenkopi by Shuichi Nagata. Oraibi (which Titiev calls Old Oraibi to distinguish it from New Oraibi) is a relatively conservative community. Moenkopi, like New Oraibi, is an offshoot of Oraibi. Most of its population moved the forty miles from Oraibi early in the twentieth century, but the people continued to return to Oraibi to participate in calendrical ceremonies. Moenkopi has no clan houses where fetish bundles are kept; the clan and ceremonial centers remain in Oraibi (Nagata 1970:13-14). While Oraibi is comparatively isolated on Third Mesa, Moenkopi has become a kind of suburb of Tuba City, a government center that has provided much employment for residents of Moenkopi. Thus, culture change has proceeded more quickly there than in Oraibi; but change has been taking place rapidly even in Oraibi. The following account is drawn from Titiev (1972:326-53).

We learn from Titiev that sheepherding, which was once a widespread activity, has practically ended and that few animals of any kind are now seen in the pueblo. There are no more burros and few horses or mules. Even farming is now on the wane, since the Hopi are shifting from a subsistence economy to working for money in nearby cities. The automobile enables much greater mobility than was possible in the past. Paved all-weather roads now connect Oraibi with the outer world and make it possible to reach Holbrook, Flagstaff, or Winslow in about three hours. Some men commute daily to work outside. There are at least sixteen cars or trucks in Oraibi, whose population in 1972 was about 130. Although small, this population represents an upswing, which Titiev attributes to better medical care and a decrease in infant mortality.

Cinder blocks, cement, and large roof beams brought by truck have replaced the local building materials of stone and adobe mud. Tables, chairs, and beds of Western style are now used in the houses, as well as some refrigerators, washing machines, and radios. Men no longer have

to go on long expeditions to get salt; they buy commercial salt in the stores. Women no longer have to haul water up the mesa in large pottery jars; this can be done by truck. Formerly, women spent much time grinding grain on metates, but now a power-driven mill is available to them. Since they buy commercial shampoos, they no longer make trips to collect yucca for that purpose. Most of the traditional clothing is gone. Men wear shirts and trousers or blue jeans, while women buy store-bought dresses, shoes and stockings; but some of the older men still weave wedding robes, belts, and sashes at their looms. The cradleboard is no longer used for babies.

It is not only material culture that has changed. "All informants agree that the collapse of the ceremonial calendar is the most drastic aspect of culture change at Old Oraibi. . . . Even the great Soyal in which participation was once a badge of manhood and the goal of every male's ceremonial life has been abandoned" (Titiev 1972:337-38). But the katchina cult is still observed; initiations take place every few years, and the Hopi agree that it should not be allowed to lapse.

Although ceremonial activity has declined in Hopi villages, it continues through a kind of division of labor. "Thus Walpi and Mishongnovi give the snake dance in one year, when Shongopavi gives the flute ceremony, but in the following year, Shongopavi and Hotevilla give the snake dance and Walpi and Mishongnovi the flute ceremony" (Nagata 1970:12). This implies an increase in communication between the separate pueblos.

Although traditional Hopi marriage customs are still observed in Oraibi, Titiev reports that married couples first go through a "White" civil or religious ceremony, mainly to acquire an official written record. Such a document helps a woman get allotments from a husband in the armed services or a better chance of financial support in the event of divorce. The rate of divorce has gone down in recent years in Moenkopi, according to Nagata (1970:280, 285).

Titiev reports that houses are still inherited by women in Oraibi and that a man moves to his wife's home. Since a woman is apt to own more than one house in the pueblo and is now unlikely to live with her mother, each nuclear family lives in its own home (Titiev 1972:334). Patrilocal and neolocal residence have become very common in Moenkopi (Nagata 1970:261, 274). One consequence of the weakening of matrilineal ties has been the reduced role of the mother's brother, who is no longer a disciplinarian in Moenkopi (Nagata 1970:251).

Titiev believes that the aspects of Hopi culture that have remained most resistant to change, in descending order, are "the use of the native language in the home; witchcraft beliefs; food preferences; faith in folk 'explanations' of seemingly inexplicable phenomena; and active participation in ancient ceremonies" (Titiev 1972:353).

Contemporary Japan

In earlier sections there was some discussion about culture changes occurring during the Heian period (794-1185), the Muromachi period (1392-1568), the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), and the Meiji Restoration, after 1868. The present section deals with changes that have taken place since World War II.

One trend has been toward increasing urbanization. Japan used to be predominantly rural and agricultural, but this is no longer true. Only about 10 percent of Japanese labor now goes into agriculture. In 1950 there were about 16 million farm workers; ten years later, the number had dropped to 13.7 million. Many young people have moved to the cities, so that much of the farming is now done by women and old men.

After the war the population of Japan increased, as former colonists in Taiwan and Manchuria, as well as the members of the armed forces, returned to their homeland. How was it possible for a shrinking number of farmers to feed so many people? Two contributory factors, apart from the importation of food, were the postwar land reforms and improved methods of farming. The land reforms were instigated by the American occupation. "The reforms limited the ownership of agricultural land to local residents and holdings to two and one half acres beyond what the individual farmer cultivated himself, for a total of seven and one half acres for any one holding. . . . All land above these limits had to be sold to the actual cultivators at prices that amounted to virtual confiscation. Tenancy plunged from 46 percent to between 5 and 10" (Reischauer 1977:316).

Since more farmers owned land, they had increased incentives to produce crops. Agricultural study groups were formed in the villages to learn about new farming techniques, fertilizers, and insecticides. Radio programs for farmers gave information about weather and market conditions. Much new technology was introduced.

Ronald P. Dore has described the village of Shinohata, about one hundred miles from Tokyo, which has about sixty-four households. Dore first visited this village in 1955 and has made frequent revisits. This is what he says about current technology: "Now nearly every house in the village, except those where there is only a single old couple left, have a car and either a small 500-cc. truck or a 9-12 horsepower two-wheeled multi-purpose unit which can be used as a walk-behind tiller for the rice fields" (Dore 1978:67).

Many villagers at Shinohata now work in nearby manufacturing establishments that sprang up after the war. Able bodied men commute to work, leaving the farming chores to their wives and aging parents. These chores have been simplified by the use of reaper-binders, rice-planting machines, and tillers. "Seventy years ago an acre of

rice absorbed ninety or a hundred days of labor. . . . Today, thirty to thirty-five days' work . . . is the standard" (Dore 1978:105-06).

Those who work in the village are kept informed about local events and committee meetings by loudspeakers that are set up in every house and in some of the fields. "There are microphones in the village hall and (complete with xylophone to summon attention with a simple tune) in the headman's home. The Shinohata day is punctuated by messages and announcements" (Dore 1978:210).

In the past, agricultural and other work in Japanese villages involved a great deal of cooperation among members of a hamlet or neighborhood group. Bridge building, road building, and rice transplanting brought out large numbers of villagers, whose collective work was concluded with a party in which there was much drinking, hand clapping, and singing (Embree 1939:chap. 4). Such cooperation is not as common today as it used to be, partly because the increased use of modern technology has lessened the need for collective labor. In Shinohata the present use of automobiles has raised the problem of accidents caused by drunken driving. Drinking parties have been reduced, and "now at the end of the day everyone goes back home to his solitary saké bottle in front of his own TV set" (Dore 1978:209).

Rapid culture change has been described for other Japanese rural villages (see, for example, R. J. Smith 1978). What has taken place in Shinohata is thus not unique.

The transformation of Japan's villages and cities since the war was made possible by the postwar economic boom. "From 1954 to 1961 the output of the Japanese economy grew by an average of about 9 percent a year. This is an extremely fast rate—around 3 percent a year is considered a good performance for an advanced industrial country like the United States. Since 1961 growth has been even greater and has averaged the high figure of over 11 percent a year" (Crawcour 1974:501). Since this was written, Japan's economy was temporarily shaken by the fuel crisis; even so, Japan was able to edge out the United States for the first position as automobile producer by the end of 1980.

A feature of Japan's industry that has drawn much attention is the pattern of lifetime employment, with many fringe benefits involved. This pattern is not a feature of the Japanese economy as a whole and does not appear in many smaller companies. Moreover, lifetime employment is for men and not for women, who usually give up their jobs when they become married or pregnant. Lifetime employment covers about one-third of Japan's labor force. The main features of the Japanese company system are as follows: employees are recruited upon graduation from school or college. They are not hired for specific jobs, for they may be shifted about to various positions after being hired, and they will go through an extensive company training program.

Candidates for employment supply a vita, take a battery of tests, and are interviewed. Once accepted, an employee may expect lifetime employment with a steadily increasing salary based on length of service rather than merit considerations.

Trade unions are enterprise unions involving all members of the company rather than craft or skill unions. They provide an important check on the operations of management, but they engage in many fewer strikes than unions do in the United States. Far fewer work days are lost in strikes in Japan than in this country, partly because of the workers' identification with their company and their reluctance to damage it. In 1978, when the United States lost 39 million workdays because of strikes, Japan lost 1.4 million.

James Abegglen gives an example of the fringe benefits available in a textile manufacturing plant. The company provides a noon meal at its cafeteria at a cost of about eight cents. If a worker lives in a company dormitory, he can have other meals at similar prices, so that his food costs come to about seven dollars a month. His room costs less than fifty cents a month, and it has laundry and other facilities, including a game room. A public bath and athletic facilities are provided by the company, and a dental and medical clinic keeps medical expenses to a minimum. A company store sells clothing and toilet goods well below market cost. If the worker takes a holiday, he can spend it at a resort owned by the company, which charges a small fee. When the worker marries, he receives a bonus, and his wife will be able to get inexpensive medical treatment at the clinic. When the couple have children, the children can attend the company school (Abegglen 1973:101-3).

Some firms have courses in cooking, dance, sex education, and flower arrangement that are attended by most of their female employees. Abegglen, who was the first to describe the Japanese factory employment system, thought that it was based on early indigenous traditions, but more recent research has shown that it is of relatively recent origin, having developed from around the turn of the century as the result of competition among Japanese firms to secure a steady labor supply (Crawcour 1978). Japanese companies are not becoming more "westernized"; if anything, the influence is in the other direction (Dore 1973:chap. 13).

Suggestions for Further Reading

For a broad, inclusive picture of Eskimo acculturation, see Charles H. Hughes, "Under Four Flags: Recent Culture Change among the Eskimos," *Current Anthropology* 6 (1965): 3-69. Hughes examines, in turn, the Eskimos

of Greenland, Canada, Alaska, and Siberia and the cultural changes resulting in each area.

For the study of a specific Inuit community, see Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Eskimos without Igloos: Social and Economic Development in Sugluk* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969). For another such study, see John J. Honigmann and Irma Honigmann, *Eskimo Townsmen* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, University of Ottawa, 1965). The Honigmanns studied Eskimos at Frobisher Bay, where more recent work in women's changing roles has been done in Ann McElroy, "Canadian Arctic Modernization and Change in Female Inuit Role Identification," *American Ethnologist* 2 (1975): 662-86.

The two best accounts of culture change among the Hopi are those drawn upon in this chapter: Shuichi Nagata, *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*, Illinois Studies in Anthropology no. 6, 1970; and Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972).

Two good accounts of recent changes in Japanese villages are Ronald P. Dore, *Shinohata: A Portrait of a Japanese Village* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); and Robert J. Smith, *Kurusu: The Price of Progress in a Japanese Village, 1951-1975* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1978). See also Tadashi Fukutake, *Japanese Rural Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

For city life, see Ronald P. Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958) an impressive and detailed study; and Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and his Family in a Tokyo Suburb* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

Lifetime employment patterns and fringe benefits in modern industry are discussed in James C. Abegglen, *Management and Worker: The Japanese Solution* (Tokyo: Sophia University, and Kodansha International, 1973), a revised, updated version of Abegglen, *The Japanese Factory* (1956).

For a comparison of British and Japanese electrical companies, see Ronald Dore, *British Factory-Japanese Factory: The Origins of National Diversity in Industrial Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).



Peoples and Tribes, Glossary, References



Peoples and Tribes: Identification and Geographical Locations

A

- Alorese.** Agricultural people on the island of Alor in Indonesia, about halfway between Java and New Guinea.
- Andaman Islanders.** Negrito hunting-gathering people in islands in the Bay of Bengal south of Burma.
- Apa Tani.** Advanced sedentary horticultural tribe inhabiting the Subansiri Valley in Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the Northeast Frontier Agency) in northeastern India.
- Apache.** Athapaskan-speaking hunting-gathering tribes of the American Southwest.
- Arunta.** Hunting-gathering tribe in central Australia.
- Aymara.** Large group of Indians, mostly peasants, in Bolivia and Peru.
- Aztecs.** Dominant ruling tribe in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest.

B

- Balinese.** Inhabitants of the island of Bali in Indonesia east of Java.
- Blackfoot.** Algonkian-speaking Indians of Montana who were Plains Indian mounted hunters during the early nineteenth century.
- Bondo.** Highland people of Orissa in central east India who practice horticulture and agriculture.
- Bushman.** Short-statured hunting-gathering people of the Kalahari Desert region of South Africa.

C

- Chaga, or Chagga.** Bantu-speaking agriculturists who occupy the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru in Kenya, East Africa.
- Cheyenne.** An Algonkian-speaking tribe of the western Plains of North America.
- Chippewa.** See **Ojibwa Indians**.

Creek. A confederacy of mostly Muskoghean-speaking Indians formerly inhabiting Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Crow. Plains Indians of southern Montana and northern Wyoming.

D

Dahomey. West African kingdom on the Gulf of Guinea during the nineteenth century.

Dinka. Tribe in the Nilotic Sudan that combines pastoralism and horticulture.

Djuka. So-called Bush Negroes, descendants of runaway slaves, who live along rivers in the interior region of Surinam in northern South America.

Dobu. Melanesian tribe on an island near the Trobriand Islands.

Dogrib. Scattered Athapaskan-speaking people in northwestern Canada.

F

Flathead Indians. Tribe in Montana formerly having a Plains Indian culture.

G

Gusii. A pastoral and agricultural Bantu-speaking tribe in Kenya, East Africa.

H

Hopi. A sedentary Shoshonean-speaking agricultural Pueblo tribe in northeastern Arizona.

I

Iatmul. A formerly head-hunting Melanesian tribe in the Sepik River region of New Guinea.

Ifugao. A hill people in northern Luzon in the Philippines who cultivate rice on terraced hillsides.

Inca. Ruling tribe in Peru and adjacent regions of South America at the time of the Spanish conquest.

Inuit. The Central Eskimos who live in coastal areas of northern Canada, including Prince of Wales Island, Baffin Island, and Hudson Bay.

Iroquois. Confederacy of tribes in the region of present-day New York state that combined maize growing with hunting and gathering in pre-Columbian and early contact times.

J

Jats. Farming people in the region of Delhi in north India.

K

Karimojong. Pastoral tribe in northwest Kenya and adjacent parts of Uganda in North Africa.

Kwakiutl. Northwest Coast American Indian hunting-gathering tribe on Vancouver Island and in British Columbia that had permanent settlements due to relative abundance of food resources.

L

Lepcha. Mongoloid people in Sikkim, India, mostly Buddhist in religion.

Lesu. A Melanesian village on the east coast of New Ireland.

M

Mandan-Hidatsa. The lumping together of two Siouan-speaking sedentary tribes located on the upper Missouri River.

Manus. Trading and fishing people of the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea, who before World War II lived in houses raised on stilts above the waters of a lagoon. They now live on the mainland.

Marquesans. Polynesians of the Marquesas Islands.

Marri Baluch. Pastoral tribe in Baluchistan in western Pakistan.

Maya. Advanced horticultural people of Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras, who had one of the highest civilizations of the pre-Columbian New World.

Minangkabau. Matrilineal agricultural people in the high valleys in interior Sumatra in Indonesia, having both wet-rice and swidden cultivation.

Mundurucú. A horticultural tribe located east of the upper Tapajós River in Brazil.

Murngin. A hunting-gathering tribe in northeastern Arnhem Land in northern Australia.

N

Navaho. Athapaskan-speaking tribe in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, formerly hunting-gathering but now with a farming and pastoral basis of subsistence.

Nyakyusa. An agricultural Bantu-speaking tribe in Tanzania, East Africa.

O

Ojibwa Indians. Algonkian-speaking, formerly mainly hunting-gathering peoples located in the Great Lakes region of North America.

Ona. Hunting-gathering tribe of Tierra del Fuego near the southernmost tip of South America.

P

Pilagá. A hunting-gathering, fishing, and horticultural tribe living near the Pilcomayo River in the Argentine Gran Chaco.

R

Rājputs. A tribal group in North India that prides itself on its martial traditions.

S

Samoans. Polynesians of the Samoan Islands.

Sirionó. Nomadic hunting-gathering tribe of Bolivia.

Swazi. Bantu-speaking sedentary agricultural and pastoral tribe in South Africa.

T

Tikopia. Small island in western Polynesia whose inhabitants are dependent on horticulture and fishing.

Tiv. Mainly horticultural tribe of the Nigerian plateau in West Africa, having many domesticated animals.

Tlingit. Northwest Coast American Indian hunting-gathering tribe, whose northernmost representatives live on the coast of Alaska, that had permanent settlements due to relative abundance of food resources.

Toda. Pastoral tribe in the Nilgiri Hills of South India.

Trobriand Islanders. Horticultural and fishing Melanesian people of the Trobriand Islands off the southeast end of New Guinea, located mainly on the island of Kiriwina.

Trukese. Inhabitants of the island of Truk in Micronesia.

Tsembaga. A Maring-speaking horticultural tribe in the Australian-administered Territory of New Guinea.

Tswana. A Bantu-speaking tribe in Botswana, formerly Bechuanaland, South Africa.

U

Uganda. East African nation north of Lake Victoria, a kingdom during the nineteenth century.

V

Vedda. Hunting-gathering tribe in Śri Lanka or Ceylon.

Y

Yako. Bantoid-speaking horticultural tribe in southern Nigeria.

Yanomamō. Horticultural South American Indians who live in parts of southern Venezuela and northern Brazil.

Yokuts. Hunting-gathering tribe in the San Joaquin Valley and adjacent regions of California in pre-Columbian times.

Z

Zulu. Bantu-speaking people in South Africa who developed a centralized political system under a king in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Zuni. A sedentary agricultural Pueblo tribe in New Mexico.



Glossary

A

- Acculturation.** Phenomena involving culture change when two formerly distinct cultures come into contact with each other.
- Adolescence.** Period between puberty and adulthood.
- Aerophone.** Air or wind instrument.
- Affinal.** Related by marriage.
- Age grade.** Members of a society who belong to a particular age bracket for which there is usually a separate term.
- Age set.** A group of persons of the same sex and about the same age who advance from one age grade to another.
- Agribusiness.** The organization along business lines of advanced, modern, large-scale agriculture.
- Agriculture.** A system of food production that makes use of plow and draft animals (Old World) or fertilizing, terracing, irrigation, or *chinampas* (pre-Columbian New World).
- Animatism.** Belief in impersonal supernatural power such as mana.
- Animism.** Belief in spiritual beings.
- Anthropoidea.** The suborder of Primates containing the higher primates, such as monkeys, apes, and human beings.
- Anticipatory levirate.** Allowance of sexual relations between a man and his older brother's wife.
- Ape.** Member of the family Pongidae within the superfamily Hominoidea, including chimpanzees, gorillas, orangutans, gibbons, and siamangs.
- Apparatchiki.** Full-time Communist party functionaries in the Soviet Union.
- Applied anthropology.** A branch of anthropology concerned with directed culture change.
- Archaeology.** A main division of cultural anthropology that deals with past cultures through excavation and analysis of their remains.

- Australopithecines.** Hominids of the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene epochs with small cranial capacity and upright posture.
- Avunculocal residence.** Residence of a married couple with or near the husband's male matrilineal kinsmen, particularly his mother's brother.

B

- Basic personality structure.** The common aspects of personality shared by the members of a particular society.
- Bilateral descent.** Reckoning of kinship equally through both parents.
- Bilocal residence.** Either patrilocal or matrilineal residence for a married couple, with about equal frequency of each.
- Bipedalism.** Upright locomotion on two feet.
- Blind analysis.** The submission of materials such as the Rorschach Test, the Thematic Apperception Test, or drawings to analysts who know nothing about the culture from which the materials were collected and who must make an analysis without access to other information.
- Broad-spectrum food exploitation.** The practice of exploiting a great range of different plant and animal food resources within a particular environment.

C

- Calendrical rite.** A ritual performed at a regular point in the yearly cycle.
- Cargo cult of Melanesia.** Magico-religious movement in which predictions are made about the future advent of ships or planes bearing cargo for the Melanesians.
- Case method.** A fieldwork technique in which episodes of the same or similar type, such as legal disputes, are recorded and analyzed.
- Caste.** An endogamous, hierarchically ranked social group that is sometimes associated with a particular occupation.
- Chinampa.** A man-made islet, anchored by willow trees, constructed by pre-Columbian Aztecs of Mexico to support topsoil for growing crops.
- Churinga.** Wooden or stone slab carved with totemic designs by male Australian aborigines, regarded as a sacred object not to be seen by women or children.
- Civilization.** Advanced form of culture associated with agriculture, metallurgy, division of labor, class stratification, formation of a state, and city life.
- Clan.** A unilineal descent group whose members believe they are related to one another through descent from a common ancestor or ancestress.
- Class.** A division of social stratification determined by economic factors and relationship to strategic resources.
- Classificatory system.** A form of kinship system in which merging is often employed, so that terms such as father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter are extended to persons who are not lineal kinsmen.
- Cognate words.** Words that have both semantic and phonemic correspondence in two or more related languages.
- Cognition.** The process of knowing.
- Cognitive anthropology.** A branch of anthropology, more particularly of anthropological linguistics, that is concerned with the ways in which the speakers of particular languages classify and conceptualize phenomena. Sometimes known as ethnoscience.
- Collateral relative.** A relative related indirectly through a linking relative.
- Communal cult.** A religious performance carried out by laymen, not requiring a magico-religious specialist.
- Comparative method.** The method used by nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists to reconstruct stages of cultural evolution on the basis of ethnographic descriptions of different cultures ranging from those of hunting-gathering societies to advanced civilizations.
- Competence.** In linguistics, refers to an individual's grasp of the principles underlying his language, knowledge of the rules needed to speak it.
- Composite tool.** A tool consisting of different parts and made with different materials.
- Conflict resolution.** The process of finding a settlement between parties in a dispute.

- Consanguine.** Related through descent.
- Cordophone.** Stringed musical instrument.
- Corporate community.** A relatively isolated, integrated social group, with common ownership of land and a tendency toward endogamy.
- Corvée labor.** Forced unpaid labor exacted by the state.
- Court.** An assembly for the transaction of judicial business.
- Couvade.** The practice of a husband resting up and observing taboos after his wife has given birth.
- Cross cousins.** Children of siblings of opposite sex.
- Cross-cultural survey.** A comparison of data from a group of societies, such as those described in the Human Relations Area Files, for the purpose of finding correlations between particular institutions and practices.
- Cultural anthropology.** With physical anthropology, one of the two main divisions of anthropology; it includes the fields of linguistics, ethnology, and archaeology, all of which have to do with the study of human cultures.
- Cultural diffusion.** The spreading of a culture trait from one society to another.
- Cultural ecology.** The study of human sociocultural adaptation to the environment.
- Cultural evolution.** The development of culture through progressively more complex stages, with increases in the energy available to humans.
- Cultural integration.** The tendency of a culture to reconcile or overcome internal conflicts or inconsistencies.
- Cultural relativism.** The idea that a practice or institution must be understood in the context of its culture, thus tending to an abstention from critical value judgments.
- Culture.** The shared behavior learned by members of a society, the way of life of a group of people. (For other definitions, see pages 4-5.)
- Curandero.** Spanish term used in Latin America for a native healer.

D

- Deep structure.** In linguistics, the underlying meaning of an utterance.
- Descriptive linguistics.** A branch of linguistics concerned with the analysis of a language as a synchronic system, its phonemes, morphemes, and rules of syntax. Also called *structural linguistics*.
- Descriptive system.** As opposed to classificatory system, a kinship system in which merging is not employed and in which terms such as father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter are not extended to other relatives.
- Diachronic study.** A study (of a culture or language) involving the time dimension.
- Diffusion.** See **Cultural diffusion**.
- Double descent.** A kinship system in which a person belongs to both his father's patrilineal group and his mother's matrilineal group.

E

- Ecclesiastical cult institution.** A religious organization involving a priesthood.
- Ecological niche.** The particular environment to which a population adjusts itself.
- Ecology.** The study of the interrelationship of organisms and their environment, including both the physical environment and other living organisms.
- Ego.** In kinship diagrams, the person from whom relationships are reckoned.
- Emic.** Referring to interpretations in terms of distinctions made by the members of a particular society under investigation.
- Endogamy.** The requirement to marry within a particular group.
- Ethnocentrism.** Value judgment in terms of the standards of one's own culture.
- Ethnography.** *a.* A detailed written description of a particular culture.
b. The general body of such literature.
- Ethnology.** A main division of cultural anthropology that deals with the study of living cultures.
- Ethnoscience.** See **Cognitive anthropology**.
- Etic.** Referring to interpretations in terms of distinctions made by a community of outside observers, not in terms of distinctions made by members of the society under investigation.
- Exogamy.** The requirement to marry outside a particular group.

F

- Fetish.** In religion, an object considered sacred because it is believed to be inhabited by, or associated with, a spirit. To be contrasted with an amulet, an object considered sacred because it is believed to contain some inherent power.
- Feudalism.** A method of government involving relationships between a lord and his vassals, which usually includes military service.
- Fictive kinship.** The incorporation of an outsider into a kin network.
- Folk society.** A term used by Robert Redfield for homogeneous tribal and peasant societies having close face-to-face relations, with kinship and religious practices playing important roles.
- Folk taxonomy.** The ways in which plants, animals, and other phenomena are classified in particular societies.
- Folklore.** Defined in narrow terms: oral literature, consisting of stories, myths, folktales, legends, riddles, and proverbs. Defined in broader terms, it also includes costume, dance, games, and other aspects of culture.
- Folktale.** An oral narrative dealing with the adventures of a hero or trickster.
- Folk-urban continuum.** Robert Redfield's bipolar contrast of the large, heterogeneous modern city and the small, face-to-face homogeneous folk society, with intermediate communities ranged in between.
- Forced observation.** In linguistics, a phenomenal distinction determined by the characteristics of a particular language.
- Fraternal polyandry.** A form of marriage in which a woman is married to two or more men who are brothers.
- Functionalism.** An approach or school of thought in anthropology that attempts to determine the functions fulfilled by different institutions in a society under investigation.

G

- Genealogy.** A record of family descent lines and kinship relations.
- Generative grammar.** See **Transformational grammar**.
- Geographical determinism.** The notion that geographical environment is the prime determinant of the characteristics of a culture.
- Geology.** The study of the earth and its changes over time through the analysis of its different layers and their fossil contents.
- Glottochronology.** See **Lexicostatistics**.
- Go-between.** An intermediary in a dispute.
- Grammar.** The body of rules that governs the arrangement of words and morphemes in a language.
- Great man theory.** The idea that changes in culture are due to the inventions and new ideas of exceptional men.
- Group marriage.** A form of marriage in which more than one man is married to more than one woman.

H

- Hacienda.** Spanish term for a large estate or manor in Latin America.
- Historic site archaeology.** Archaeology concerned with relatively recent times when written records are available.
- Historical linguistics.** The diachronic study of languages as they change over time.
- Hominid.** Member of the family Hominidae, which includes present-day human beings and their precursors, such as *Homo erectus* and the australopithecines.
- Hominoidea.** The primate superfamily that includes both apes and human beings.
- Homo erectus*.** A form of hominid that lived between 1.5 million and 100,000 years ago, represented by such examples as Java man and Peking man.
- Homo sapiens (sapiens)*.** Modern humans.
- Horticulture.** A system of food production lacking the use of plow and draft animals and utilizing a simple technology, principally a digging stick.
- Human ecology.** The study of human adaptation to environment.
- Human Relations Area Files (HRAF).** An extensive file of ethnographic data.

- Hunting-gathering.** A means of subsistence without horticulture or agriculture, dependent on the collecting of plants, nuts, and fruits and the hunting of animals.
- Hydraulic society.** An advanced agricultural society making use of irrigation and tending to have a high degree of political centralization.

I

- Idiographic approach.** An ethnographic approach that aims at a thorough and objective documentation of a culture in all its unique features without involving a search for general principles or laws.
- Idiophone.** A musical instrument that produces sounds through vibrations, such as rattles, gongs, and bells.
- Immediate constituent (IC).** In linguistics, a subdivision of an utterance.
- Incest taboos.** Taboos on sexual relations between members of a designated kin group, such as a nuclear family.
- Independent invention.** The discovery of the same invention by two or more different persons or in two or more different cultures.
- Individualistic cult institution.** A solitary ritual performed by someone who is not a religious specialist.
- Indo-European languages.** A family of languages found in most of Europe and parts of the Middle East and South Asia.
- Industrial Revolution.** The development of the factory system and associated phenomena that began in England in the eighteenth century.
- Industrial society.** A society making use of a factory system and a money economy.
- Initiation ceremony.** A rite of passage to signal a change of status in the initiated person, such as the transition from childhood to a more adult status in puberty ceremonies.
- Inner-direction.** David Riesman's term for a mode of conformity associated with a period of population growth, opening frontiers, and expanding economic opportunities, involving an emphasis on hard work, discipline, and achievement.

J

- Jajmani system.** A system by which members of different castes in rural villages in India exchange goods and services with little exchange of money.

K

- Kamin.** A person who performs services for a patron in the jajmani system.
- Katcina, or kachina.** Among the Hopi and Zuni, ancestors and rain gods enacted by masked men in rituals.
- Kibbutz.** An Israeli collective community.
- Kindred.** A person's bilateral relatives on both the maternal and paternal sides.
- Kinship.** The classification of persons on the basis of relationship through descent or marriage.
- Kiva.** An underground chamber where rituals are performed among the Hopi and Zuni.
- Kula ring.** An intertribal cycle of ceremonial exchanges among the Trobriand Islanders and their neighbors in Melanesia.

L

- Law.** A body of social norms in a society, which its members must abide by and which may be enforced by an agency recognized as having political authority in that society.
- Leveling mechanism.** A means of preventing too much accumulation of wealth by particular groups or persons.
- Levirate.** A custom whereby, when a man dies, his widow is expected to marry a brother of the deceased.
- Lexicostatistics.** A method involving the attempt to assign an approximate age for the time of the splitting of a parent language into two offshoots.

- Liminal.** From *limen*, meaning threshold, in reference to the in-between status of a person undergoing a rite of passage.
- Lineage.** A unilineal descent group whose members believe they are related to one another through descent from a common ancestor or ancestress and who are able to trace their descent to known forebears.
- Lineal kin.** Persons related in a single line, as grandfather-father-son.
- Linguistics.** The study of languages.

M

- Magic.** The use of rituals to direct and control supernatural forces.
- Mammals.** The class of warm-blooded vertebrates to which human beings belong.
- Mana.** Melanesian and Polynesian concept of impersonal supernatural power.
- Market.** A place where goods are regularly bought and sold.
- Market exchange.** A system of economic exchanges determined by considerations of supply and demand and regulated by prices.
- Marriage.** A socially recognized union of man and wife.
- Matrilineal descent.** The tracing of descent in the female line, from mother through daughter.
- Matrilocal residence.** Residence of a married couple with or near the wife's female matrilineal kin.
- Medicine man.** See **Shaman**.
- Membranophone.** Skin musical instrument, such as a drum.
- Merging.** The practice of using the same kinship terms for lineal and collateral relatives.
- Mesolithic.** A period between the Paleolithic and Neolithic, dated in Europe between 11,000 and 5000 B.C.
- Millenarian cult.** A revitalization movement in which there is an expectation of forthcoming radical, supernaturally caused changes in the structure and culture of a society, such as the Cargo cults of Melanesia.
- Moiety.** One half of a dual division of a society divided into two exogamous groups.
- Monkey.** A member of the suborder Anthroidea, or higher primates, distinguished from the apes and humans and divided into two subfamilies, one of Old World monkeys and one of New World monkeys.
- Monogamy.** A form of marriage in which one man is married to one woman.
- Monotheism.** Belief in a single God or supreme being.
- Morpheme.** A unit of meaning in a language, the smallest unit that is grammatically significant.
- Multilinear evolution.** A school of ethnology associated with Julian H. Steward, which is concerned with the analysis of cross-cultural regularities in culture change.
- Myth.** A sacred story that is believed to be true in the society in which it is told.

N

- Neanderthal.** A late Pleistocene type of *Homo sapiens* that preceded modern humans.
- Neo-evolutionism.** A school of ethnology that, while admitting the weaknesses in the works of Tylor and Morgan, reaffirms the importance of studying the evolution of human culture.
- Neolithic.** The New Stone Age period in which plants and animals were domesticated in the Old World.
- Neolocal residence.** The practice of having a married couple set up a separate residence, living with neither the husband's nor the wife's parents.
- Nomothetic approach.** An approach in ethnology that seeks to establish general laws or regularities.
- Numaym.** A named landholding kinship group among the Kwakiutl Indians.

O

- Olympian ecclesiastical cult.** A religious cult involving a priesthood that worships a pantheon of gods.
- Oral literature.** See **Folklore**.

Other-direction. David Riesman's term for a mode of ensuring conformity in a modern industrial society in which there is an emphasis on sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others.

P

Paleolithic. The Old Stone Age, dating from the first use of tools to around 11,000 B.C.

Paleontology. The study of the forms of life of past geological periods from their fossil remains.

Paradigmatic approach. In folklore, an analytic approach involving a search for significant patterns.

Parallel cousins. Children of siblings of the same sex.

Participant observation. A method of ethnological fieldwork that involves participation in the activities of a community and informal conversations with its members.

Pastoralism. A means of subsistence relying heavily on domesticated herding animals.

Patrilineal descent. A form of unilineal descent in which descent is reckoned through males, from father through son.

Patrilocal residence. Residence of a married couple with or near the husband's patrilineal kinsmen.

Peasants. Agriculturists who are connected with a state or city life but who engage mainly in subsistence farming on a family basis and do not hire labor or specialize in cash crops.

Peon. A peasant or landless laborer in Latin America.

Performance. In linguistics, actual speech.

Phoneme. A minimal significant sound unit in a language that serves to distinguish one word or syllable from another for the speakers of that language.

Phonetics. The study and classification by linguists of the different sounds made in speech utterances.

Phratry. A group of two or more closely associated clans that may become an exogamous unit.

Physical anthropology. With cultural anthropology, one of the two main divisions of anthropology, a field that deals with humans as physical organisms.

Pleistocene epoch. A geological period between around 1.8 million and 10,000 years ago.

Pliocene epoch. A geological period between around 5 million and 1.8 million years ago.

Political organization. The aspects of social organization related to the management of public policy.

Polyandry. A form of marriage in which one woman is married to more than one man.

Polygamy. A general term for plural marriage, including both polyandry and polygyny.

Polygyny. A form of marriage in which one man is married to more than one woman.

Polytheism. A belief in many gods.

Possession. A belief that a spirit may temporarily occupy a person's body.

Postpartum sex taboo. Abstinence from sexual relations by a husband and wife for a year or two after childbirth.

Potlatch. A feast among the Indians of the Northwest Coast of North America at which gifts were distributed.

Prehistory. The period before the advent of writing systems.

Priest. A religious specialist who performs rituals and who is elected or appointed to office within a cult organization, in contrast to the more individualistic shaman, who is believed to communicate directly with the supernatural world through his own abilities.

Primate city. A city that dominates its surrounding area and is much larger than the other urban centers in the nation.

Primates. The order of mammals that includes lemurs, tarsiers, monkeys, apes, and human beings.

Primogeniture. Rule of the inheritance of property by the eldest son.

- Projection.** Apperceptive distortion in which inner concepts are attributed to the outer world.
- Projective technique.** A personality test, such as the Rorschach Test or the Thematic Apperception Test, that makes use of the concept of projection.
- Prosimian.** Member of the Prosimii, the suborder of Primates containing the lower primates, such as lemurs and tarsiers.
- Protestant ethic.** A set of attitudes and values that emphasizes the virtues of asceticism, hard work, and responsibility, advocated in the teachings of the Protestant Reformation.
- Psychic unity of mankind.** The assumption that all human beings, regardless of race or level of cultural development, share the same mental attributes and capacities.
- Pueblo Indians.** American Indians of the southwestern United States, including the Hopi and Zuni among others, who raise crops and live in communities with houses made of adobe mud, wood, and stone.

R

- Racism.** The explanation of a people's behavior in terms of genetic endowment, usually associated with a belief in the innate superiority and inferiority of particular groups.
- Reciprocity.** The giving of goods or services with an expectation of a roughly equivalent return.
- Redistribution.** A system of economic exchange in which goods are funneled to a central place of storage and then distributed by some central administrative authority.
- Religion.** Beliefs and practices related to the supernatural world.
- Restudy.** A later study of a community that has been previously studied some years earlier.
- Rite of passage.** A ceremony to mark a person's transition from one status to another, as at the time of puberty or marriage.
- Rorschach Test.** A projective personality test in which the subjects are asked to give responses about what they see in a series of ten standardized inkblots.

S

- Sanction.** A reaction by members of a society to show approval or disapproval of certain behavior as a way of bringing about conformity to social norms.
- Secret society.** A voluntary association whose membership is secret.
- Semantic.** Related to meaning in a language.
- Semantic domain.** A class of objects that share some characteristic feature or features that differentiate them from other domains.
- Sexual dimorphism.** Contrasts in size and strength between males and females.
- Shaman, or medicine man.** A magico-religious specialist who acts as an intermediary between the members of his society and the supernatural world on the basis of self-acquired powers, in contrast to a priest, who is an appointed member of a cult organization.
- Sibling.** General term for brother or sister without specifying sex.
- Slash-and-burn horticulture.** See **Swidden cultivation**.
- Social anthropology.** A branch of anthropology concerned with analyzing networks of social relations.
- Social stratification.** Social organization involving hierarchical distinctions of caste or class.
- Society.** A more or less organized group of people of both sexes who share a common culture.
- Sororal polygyny.** A form of marriage in which a man is married to two or more women who are sisters.
- Sororate.** The custom whereby, when a woman dies, her husband is expected to marry one of her sisters.
- Stereoscopic vision.** Depth perception made possible by having both eyes on the frontal plane with an overlapping field of vision.
- Structural anthropology.** A school of ethnology, of which Claude Lévi-Strauss is the

leading exponent, that seeks to uncover the "mental structures" that are believed to underlie human behavior.

Structural-functionalism. A functional approach in social anthropology that is concerned with how social structures are maintained.

Structural linguistics. See **Descriptive linguistics**.

Surface structure. In linguistics, the organization of spoken utterances, which may be analyzed through the method of immediate constituents, in contrast to the underlying deep structure.

Swidden cultivation, or slash-and-burn horticulture. A method of food production that involves clearing a patch of land by burning, planting crops, and tending them until the fertility of the soil begins to be exhausted; the land is then allowed to lie fallow.

Synchronic study. The study (of a language or culture) at one time period.

Syncretism. A blending of two or more different forms, as in religion or musical styles.

Syntagmatic approach. A structural approach in folklore that analyzes the linear sequence of episodes.

Syntax. The branch of grammar concerned with the order in which morphemes are arranged and sentences constructed.

T

Teknonymy. The custom of naming a parent after his or her child, for example, "Father (or Mother) of So-and-so."

Telegraphic speech. An early form of talking in which children mainly use nouns and verbs, while omitting inflections, articles, prepositions, and conjunctions.

Thematic Apperception Test. A projective personality test in which the subject is asked to tell stories in response to a series of standardized pictures.

Totemism. A set of beliefs concerning the relationship of clan members to the totemic animal from which the clan gets its name and from which the members are often believed to be descended. In some cases, this may involve a taboo on eating the flesh of the totem animal.

Transformational grammar. A way of analyzing grammar developed by Noam Chomsky and his followers that makes a distinction between deep structures and surface structures.

Trans-Pacific diffusion. The notion that some American Indian culture patterns, including some art motifs, reached the New World by diffusion across the Pacific in pre-Columbian times.

U

Unilineal descent. The tracing of descent in a single line, either through males or through females.

Unilinear evolution. The conception of cultural evolution held by nineteenth-century writers involving human progression through the stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization.

Universal aspects of culture. Aspects of culture found in all known societies but not necessarily among all individuals.

Universal evolution. The view of the general evolution of culture held by Leslie A. White.

Universal grammar. Features of grammar that Noam Chomsky believes to be characteristic of all languages.

Untouchability. The belief that it is polluting for persons of higher caste to be touched by low-caste persons.

Uxorilocal residence. Residence of a married couple at the wife's residence; the wife is not necessarily living matrilocally.

V

Virilocal residence. Residence of a married couple at the husband's residence; the husband is not necessarily living patrilocally.

Voluntary association. A group open to members of different age sets and kin groups, entrance to which is voluntary.



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